

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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PETITION FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

(EVERY person receiving a copy of this petition is earnestly desired to put it in immediately and through circulation for signatures, and return it signed, to the office of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, 37 Park Row, Room 20, New York.)

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress Assembled:

The undersigned citizens of the State of — earnestly but respectfully request . that in an change or amendment of the Constitution you may propose, to extend or regulate Suffrage, there shall be no distinction made between men and women.

NAMES. | NAMES.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

CHICAGO, Feb. 12, 1869.

DEAR REVOLUTION: Sitting on the platform in the Chicago Convention, we remember that the mail to-night must take a word to you. After travelling forty hours on the railroad, sitting two days in convention and talking in all the leisure hours outside, our missives to you must be short, but not spic, for we feel like a squeezed sponge at the present writing.

Our journey hither, barring delays, was most charming. This was our first trip on the Erie railroad, and although we had heard much of the majesty and beauty of the scenery, through the valleys of the Delaware and Susquehanna, and the spacious comfortable cars on that route, the journey surpassed our expectations. We advise everybody to take that trip at least once, and they will never be satisfied again with the narrow gauge track, and the contracted cars of the New York Central.

The Convention has been crowded and most enthusiastic throughout; judges, lawyers, clergymen, professors, all taking part in its deliberations. The women of this nation may congratulate themselves that their cause is near its triumph when such noble men as Edward Beecher, Rev. Mr. Goodspeed, Robert Collier, Prof. Haven, Judge Waite and Judge Bradwell come forward in public to advocate their cause. Mr. Beecher made an able speech yesterday showing that "manhood suffrage" was not the demand of this hour, but suffrage for all the citizens of the republic. He pointed out the necessity of woman's voice in the legislation of the country, not only for her own safety, but for the preservation of our free institutions. Great as our Beechers are in the east, when transplanted to this magnificent west, they seem to develop with the proportions of the country.

The Secretary of the Convention, Mrs. J. F. Witting of Rockford, is a most accomplished woman. She understands Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, writes for several periodicals, and is the author of "Through the Dark to the Light," a new book, it is said, of much power

and merit; and if the title is at all indicative of the contents, we should like to have a copy laid on the desks of all our rulers at Washington and in the several state legislatures, for this is the direction in which all need to be led.

Library Hall has been literally packed throughout the Convention, and, from the letters we have already received urging us to go hither and thither through the west (as Train would say), the prairies seem to be all on fire with Woman's Suffrage. While politicians are trying to patch up the republican party, now near its last gasp, the people in the West are getting ready for the new national party, to combine the best elements of both the old ones, soon to be buried forever out of sight.

Woman's Suffrage, greenbacks, free trade, homesteads for all, eight hours labor, and three per cent. the legal interest, will be some of the planks in the platforms of the political parties of the future.

Mrs. Livermore, the president of the Convention, discharged the duties of her office with great executive ability, grace and patience. The women of Chicago are fortunate in having in her so wise and judicious a manager of their cause. She is a tall, dignified-looking woman, has a fine voice, pleasant address, and in her force and dash is not unlike the proprietor of THE REVOLUTION.

Wells Brown and Anna Dickinson enlivened the discussions of this afternoon. The former helped to annihilate "us" of THE REVOLUTION on the same resolutions we tried at Washington, and Anna left a Mr. Robert Laird Collier, who had already had a passage at arms with Mrs. Livermore and Robert Collier, pale and bleeding on the floor. This gentleman and Rev. Mr. Hammond, brother-in-law of Owen Lovjoy, not believing in Woman's Suffrage, were, unhappily for themselves, though to the great amusement of the audience, made the target for all the wit and satire of the platform. Mr. Hammond, in his death gasp, declared "he believed his Bible," which did not help his case, for everyone else on the platform affirmed the same faith, with only this difference, they did not believe Mr. Hammond's interpretation of the good book. Mrs. Myra Bradwell, editor of the Chicago Legal News, took a prominent part in the Convention. She is a woman of great force and executive ability, and it is said her husband is greatly indebted to her for his success in life.

A telegram from Mrs. Minor, President of the Woman's Suffrage Association in St. Louis says, that they have announced us to speak there on Monday evening. Miss Anthony is rolling up a goodly number of subscribers, so we trust the pages of THE REVOLUTION will glow with wit and wisdom during our absence. Everyone speaks of that financial conversation of Miss Anthony with the Senator at Washington, and they all say THE REVOLUTION is a live paper, and they are determined to have one just like it here in Chicago. What will interest you more

than all beside was the unanimous passage of a resolution in the Convention endorsing THE REVOLUTION as the National Organ of the Woman's Suffrage movement. The Chicago press have graciously given many columns to reports of the Convention. E. C. S.

WOMAN.

A CONVERSATION BY A. BRONSON ALCOTT.

(Concluded.)

A GENTLEMAN—Do you not think that man, at the present time, has enough of the other sex in him to represent both sexes in the political field for some time to come?

MR. ALCOTT—I think if he had, our republic would have been in a better position than it is. President, cabinet, congressmen, with rare exceptions, little dream what women are. No: I think I must say no. The women have it. Be women as soon as you can, ladies. Do not hesitate. Begin to-morrow morning, if you have not resolved to begin to-night. You cannot begin too soon. But pray do not assume to do the work in our way. No, you will not; you know better, and will show us a better way. But you do not wish us to do it your way any more than we wish you to do it in ours. That is the objection of some rather dull men. They do not know any better way than their own, and therefore think the women are going to do just as they have; and say, "Pray defend us from that!" And I say so too.

A LADY—Is it not true that we are getting to prefer too much the outside? and is not that one reason why our homes are not what they should be? Is it not better to make a beautiful, poetic home, than to write a poor poem?—to put the treasures of life into life, than to put them into books? Is not a beautiful home the best poem?—a well trained family the best written volume? and is not the error of the present in going too much into the outside, to the neglect of the richest culture within?

MR. ALCOTT—Only those who write their verses in themselves, and are themselves poetic in character, stand as representative persons, whether men or women. Beauty is life's overflow, and duty is always beautiful, or else is deformity.

A LADY—That is very true; and so it seems to me that the superfluity, the overflow, should be put into poems and books: but the sphere should be at home, and then the overflow you speak of would be beautiful.

MR. ALCOTT—No verses were ever written that charmed the world which did not spring out of the innocent soul,—the quietude of home. No verses, I mean, that take hold of all mankind. We have verses, we have works of art, we have poems, books, that interest a portion of mankind; but the great books, the great works of art, the great lives of heroism, and whatever else,—the martyrdoms,—these are all from the heart of mankind, and therefore they interest all mankind. What we want is, that the state should first pre-exist in the house; and wherever there is a harmonious household, whatever goes out of that house will tend to build up fine institutions around it: where there is a superior pair in any house, they may go where they will or do what they please, it will be done beautifully and dutifully. Of course, there is this check to be put upon any tendency of women to press into relations for which they are not fitted, for that is the peril to

which all good enterprises are at first liable. There will be ridiculous mistakes, many blunders; but the women cannot blunder more than the men. The best wife will cast the best and truest vote.

A LADY—Is not the most fatal blunder to blunder at the centre?

MR. ALCOTT—Yes: if we blunder there, it is like a stone cast into the centre of a lake, and ripples the whole surface of life. Any little blunder at the centre passes out and returns again,—recoils. There is where the blunder is. Put all families right and all institutions would be right; the heart helped to become right and beautiful. It is because the lapse is at the beginning. It is in the Adams and Eve,—at the beginning. That is where the lapse is; not in any fabulous sense, but in a real sense: we are the Adams and Eves. We are put upon precisely the same basis that the legend tells us Adam and Eve were, and we have the same problems to work out; the same results must follow. Give us Adams and Eves that shall not lapse out of Paradise, and we shall not have so many versions of the "Paradise Lost." Most people say they have lost their Paradise, and hope to regain it some time. If they think so, doubtless they have. But how much to their credit not to have lost it! That is the problem of human destiny. Begin chastely at the beginning. And where is the beginning? Personally in the Creator himself, all souls returning to find and fill in him again. We are interposed between; and if the Godhead flow through us freely, we shall fill and spill with beauty and delight. Whoever has not that overflow has not lived. But one must fill freely, not spill too fast. The spilling is the ecstasy, the pure delight. Shall one eat all his plums at once? Is not a good thing as good to keep as to get? But like the old sinners at the beginning, we want it all at once, and there follows the *Illiad* of social woes. It was a subtle saying of a young woman that she admired ancient Eve, she was so brave. She believed there was something to be learned, and so courageously ventured, and got an experience out of it. Whether celestial or sinful, we leave for the innocents to solve.

The Hebrew myth makes man the perfect creature,—entire in himself, himself and herself; then came the lapse, and then the tendency to return again and be one. So the tendency today is to return to that integrity; and we can skip presently that experience, and do things harmoniously from the beginning. It seems a great waste. They say the world is six thousand years old. Who knows? A hundred thousand—a million! No, it is not very old. It is only a minute old in one sense, and millions in another. But speaking after the manner of human chronology, it seems as if the human race had had time to do something better than it has; as if there had been time enough for men and women to become acquainted with one another: and yet we see pairs calling themselves dear friends, yet discover neither in their voice nor behavior the certificate that they really are dear friends. They strive to be, but are not. If they were, like the Pythagoreans, each might call each by the other's name. We have not got quite so far. And then, this is to be said, whoever is not woman's friend is not his own friend. Whoever does not respect woman, has not such conception of woman that he cannot be her friend, even when she is not her own, must have something false in him. He has not learned what woman means, what woman is. For what is man here

for? First to take care of himself—if he can. Pray do not let him undertake to take care of woman until he has done that.

A GENTLEMAN—The question is, how shall the feminine force be introduced into politics? Some of us contend that it would be safe to give woman the ballot. There are others who contend that this element should be put into politics by awakening the feminine in man's home.

MR. ALCOTT—If thoughtful, cultivated, and superior women will trust men to do that service for them, the best men are ready to do it; but it happens that many of the superior women say, "Much as we respect you, on the whole, we think we had rather do that ourselves." Very well; then why not have them do it just as they please? Let them do it themselves, if they will. I think we can trust them.

A GENTLEMAN—Do you think they will cast a feminine ballot?

MR. ALCOTT—I cannot say. They cannot do worse than men have done, because woman carries, by the necessity of her being, the womanly sense with her wherever she goes; and although she has subtle arts, that I am not going now to expose, but of which I know something,—I hope not too much,—she yet can be trusted; and especially where moral questions are concerned. And if there be any right more important than another in a republic, is it not the citizen's right to elect those who shall represent him?

A LADY—Is your sex the only magnanimous one? My sex believe that we can trust man,—many of us. Are you the only magnanimous persons? You trust us—we trust you.

MR. ALCOTT—Surely.

A GENTLEMAN—I would trust neither sex without the other.

MR. ALCOTT—Neither would I.

A GENTLEMAN—One supports one sex, one the other. I say they ought to be united in politics as in everything else. My experience of life has been this: that when I have been in the society of men alone, I have been too frequently disgusted, which would have been prevented entirely if women had been present. I believe from what I can learn, that the same fact exists in regard to the society of women; that women's society alone is not of so high a standard as when men and women are united together; and therefore I think they ought to be always united, under all circumstances, and I think politics should be included among the rest. I think our whole system of politics would be vastly improved and elevated by the introduction of woman. If, next November, woman should go and deposit her vote at the polls, she would have more influence upon the rugged and rough men, who are behaving in the most abominable manner that can possibly be imagined.

MR. ALCOTT—It is a very proper suggestion, that the women are as magnanimous as the men; but the men are not so magnanimous as to surrender all their rights, and let the women do the work alone. They have not come to that. Fair play for both.

A GENTLEMAN—I see by the last remarks that the millennium is dawning. We shall have the government right, and there will be no trouble now about the national debt.

MR. ALCOTT—I think we have intimated the secret of our safety and success. When men and women are true at home, then we can trust everything outside. Let young women hold young men to higher laws of purity than hitherto. That would be a bold declaration of

independence—excellent. When that time comes, the republic is safe, because that would ensure all laws.

But we must not keep late hours.

WOMAN'S PERVERSITY.

What did you say? Tired taking care of the baby? Tired of your own offspring? Oh! it is well to qualify terms a little. Not tired of the child, but so worn out with its screaming and fretting; so exhausted with walking the floor nights; that what? you almost wish it never had been born! You must never, my dear, give utterance to such sentiments as these. But you are desperate! Well, that is laughable. A wife and mother desperate! Tommy hadn't half finished teething when this one was born? What of that? Wives must learn to regard these trifling additions with saint-like equanimity. It isn't any more trouble to take care of two children than one, if you only manage properly. You don't have time to attend to domestic affairs at all? Can't find the necessary time to do the week's mending? and your husband scolds because things don't taste and look as nicely as they used to before the advent of this last screech owl? Well! well! He has a right to scold. That province is man's especially; and you have no right to arrogate one of its privileges. This morning Tom went off in a horrid temper. Had good reason I'll warrant. What was it all about? Got his shirt on, studs in, went to fasten the neck band, and off flew the button. He swore, did he? Of course, he did; you weren't surprised at that? You laid the baby down to sew on another, and she got black in her face screaming, before you had the needle threaded, and Tom vowed if you didn't stop the young one's mouth he'd throw it out of the window. All very right and proper in Tom. How could you fasten a button and hold a screaming child, too? Why, bless your heart, the button should have been secure, and then all trouble would have been saved. You thought it was? Wives have no business to think! they should *know*. Then he had to take it off, and try another? You don't think that was anything to get so excited about? Well, I do. To remove the studs from bosom and wristbands, to strip the offending garment over a fellow's head, disturbing the hair he had so nicely arranged, with a baby (and babies should never be allowed to annoy their paternal parents) screaming at the top of its lungs, was enough to make a minister forget to be clerical. The coffee was muddy, the steak over done, and the corn-bread rare. Well! whose fault was that? Not yours? But indeed it was. You should have seen to breakfast, even though you did it with baby in arms, and Tommy hanging to the skirt of your dress. You asked him for money, and he said he wouldn't leave a dime to be wasted, as you wasted money. That proved his wisdom; but it is your business to provide some how, and have a nice dinner when your lord arrives, and be just as smiling as though nothing had happened. What do you know about New York Central, or North West preferred, and the bother he has in trade generally? Dines at Delmonico's, does he? Plays billiards and attends clubs? You don't begrudge the poor, care-worn man these little recreations, do you? No, but you want a change occasionally? What else is it you want? Sympathy and appreciation? Bosh, child, sensible women don't think of such things in this enlightened age.

What! you shall die if your husband don't show you more attention and consideration? Die then! That is the very thing to do, if you can't attend to buttons and beefsteak, and keep your children from disturbing their father. Give the poor distracted a chance to "better himself." Make an easy chair for a second wife to sit in, and leave your babies to the mercy of a step-mother. Don't be selfish about it, dear.

ELEANOR KIRK.

WOMAN IN THE MISSOURI LEGISLATURE

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 6, 1869.

DEAR MISS ANTHONY: It will not be feminine to say, yet I fear I must say the women of Missouri have stormed their capitol, and if it is not yet taken, the outworks are in our hands, and I believe a few more well-directed blows and the victory will be ours. On the 3d inst. a large delegation of ladies, representing the Suffrage Association of Missouri, visited Jefferson City, for the purpose of laying before the legislature a large and influentially signed petition, asking the ballot for woman; and we were gratified to see the great respect and deference shown to the women of Missouri by the wisest and best of her legislators, in their respectful and cordial reception of their delegates. Both houses adjourned, and gave the use of the house for the afternoon, when eloquent addresses were made by Mrs. J. G. Phelps of Springfield, Dr. Ada Grennan of St. Louis, and the future orator of Missouri, Miss Phoebe Couzins, whose able and effective address the press has given in full. Of the brave men who stood up for us, it is more difficult to speak. To give a list would be impossible; for every name would require a eulogy too lengthy for the pages of THE REVOLUTION. We will, therefore, record them on the tablets of our memory, with a hand so firm that they shall stand out brightly till time shall be no more. Of the small majority who oppose us, we will say nothing, but throw over them the pall of merciful oblivion.

I met your warm friend, Senator Harbino, who is inexhaustible in good words for THE REVOLUTION, and the cause, and spoke admirably of both. Your sincere friend,

MRS. FRANCIS MINOR.

PRISONS AND PUNISHMENTS.

Editors of the Revolution:

In a late REVOLUTION Mrs. Stanton, speaking of "Prisons and Punishments," writes: "Our whole system is infamous, based on the false idea that everything must be done for the protection of what is called society, and nothing for the criminal." Wendell Phillips, in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, writes: "Oblige every state to educate every soul God entrusts to his keeping."

What Mr. Stanton says of the old system is most true; what Mr. Phillips says of the remedy is most statesmanlike. Mrs. Stanton has given a correct diagnosis, as the doctors say, and Mr. Phillips has prescribed the only cure, and yet a very simple one, and what in this age of balance-sheets is most deliciously palatable, for the reason that it will save millions of dollars to the credit side of the expense account.

I shall not attempt, by a long list of facts and figures, to show how much our present "infamous system" costs, and how little a true system would cost, but will assert that our

prisons and punishments of criminals cost five times as much as it would cost to "educate every soul God entrusts to the keeping of society." Every child rescued by education from the clutches of the criminal law, not only saves the costs of his punishment, and the damages inflicted by his lawlessness, but the amount which a good member of society adds to the commonwealth. Every school-house multiplies these gains in the ratio of the number educated, and saves the costs of courts and prisons. It is time to begin, in a common sense way, to save mankind. Let the Bible societies invest, at least, three-fourths of their capital in soup-houses, school-houses and spelling-books, and the other third of their Bibles would be better appreciated. Let the ounce of prevention, in the "form which a wise mother would apply to her child," be applied by society, instead of the pound of cure it now administers to little purpose, and our generation would reveal more progress than all the theological preachers, tract distributors, and missionaries, with their engines of damnation of men and women in this world and the next, have accomplished in a thousand years.

We have lately prepared and caused to be introduced into the legislature of Illinois, a bill, which, if it becomes a law, and there is some prospect that it will, thoroughly enforced, will "oblige the state to educate every soul God has entrusted to its keeping," that is not over sixteen years of age.

The first section provides for the establishment and maintenance of Reform Schools, with lands for agricultural, and shops for mechanical labor attached, in every county in the state. The second section obliges every child between the ages of eight and sixteen years to attend school at least twelve weeks in each year, or get the education to be had by such attendance elsewhere, provided he or she is not physically or mentally incapacitated, or too poor, under the penalty (to the scholar) of being sent to the Reform School, (to the parent or guardian) of not less than twenty nor more than one hundred dollars for every offence.

The third section makes it the duty of school directors and superintendents to make out an alphabetical list of all scholars within their jurisdiction and furnish each and every teacher with such list, at the commencement of each and every term of school; and enjoins upon each teacher the duty to report at least once a week to the directors and superintendents the names of all truants, and upon the receipt of such reports, it is the further duty of the directors and superintendents to forthwith inquire into the reasons or causes of the absence of such truants, and if they are found too poor to attend and in need of books or clothes, they shall be furnished; if the parents or guardians are at fault, they are to be forthwith complained of before a Justice of the Peace, or judge, and, if found guilty, fined; if the truant is incorrigible and cannot be controlled by his parent or guardian, he or she is to be sent to the Reform School. All fines and penalties to go for the benefit of the school fund.

We think we have culled the best parts of the Massachusetts and Prussian laws on this subject. The Massachusetts law leaves it optional with the towns to enforce the attendance of the children upon the public schools. We propose to make the law obligatory upon the whole state.

In Chicago there are more than 60,000 children, between the ages of six and sixteen, and

less than 30,000 are in the schools, public and private. In the city of Chicago alone, there are more than 30,000 children growing up in idleness and ignorance, and a large part of them vagabonds, without homes or fixed places of abode. What an army of candidates for jails, state prisons and the gallows! The per cent. of children who do not attend school is less in the smaller towns, but a vast army in Illinois will be gathered into the schools by this law, if it becomes a law, and thus saved to themselves and to society, in this world and in the next, while millions of dollars will be saved to the public treasury of the state.

Illinois proposes to be the first state to oblige its people to educate their children, to gather in the poor and outcast into her schools.

We propose to do away with our "infamous system," by the substitution of normal schools, and grammar schools, and common schools, and reform schools for jails and state prisons.

A. J. GROVER.

THE TRUE BASIS OF SUFFRAGE

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Jan. 20th, 1869.

To E. C. S.:

You are right in the averment that it was the submission of two separate propositions in this state that killed both. It was an effort to bisect an indivisible thing—a principle.

As the beacon that, like the star of Bethlehem, lighted the way for the grand Revolution that broke the shackles from the slave, was the idea that the negro is endowed with the attributes of man; the enslaving of man by man is wrong—is oppression—because all men were created equal, endowed with the inalienable right of liberty, therefore slavery shall be abolished; so the logic of the reform in suffrage is this: that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; every member of the governed should, therefore, be recognized as having a voice in the government; and this until some valid reasons appear that imperil the existence of that government, or strike at its objects, namely, the securing of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to the governed.

Those great, good men and women who saw the slave in his shambles, and rose up in their united might to crush the curse that bound him, stopped not to enquire for race, or class, or sex; and, had both whites and blacks been enslaved, the word "color" would have been almost unknown in the sublime annals of that great reform which gave to him his liberty, and would not have so disgraced our laws.

It is now too late, in pushing on the car of progress, to recede from principle, or to stop to chop it up with policies that destroy its force. There are members of the "governed" who have rights denied them; these members include both whites (women) and blacks (men and women); these rights are vital, and constitute the source whence all "just powers" of the government are derived, viz.: the right to express a consent to be governed, and by whom, and in what manner, through that palladium of liberty, the ballot-box. After so long revering the nobleness and purity of the men who, like Gerrit Smith, have given their lives to reform, and reverencing their tenacity to truth and principle, after so often admiring their great powers of thought and golden speech, and after absorbing so many truths uttered by them with convincing logic and winning eloquence that to a youthful mind almost invested them with the halo of the spheres, it is a perfect "dead setter" to realize

that they will withhold their strong arms from the aid of one class of the oppressed for another class, even were its members more worthy, better qualified, and no more needing generous aid (none of which by any means appears), and especially at this period, and in this upheaval of the bed rocks of political existence. Why do they now stop to distinguish between races and genders? There is no sex in *unalienable rights*. And there is no principle by which a "removal of the political disabilities of race" should precede a removal of the political disabilities of sex. Institute a comparison between the worthiness of white American women as one class, and the American freedmen and women as another class (the latter cannot be called a race), to exercise the elective franchise, or between their qualifications for it respectively, or between the wrongs, or degrees of wrong resulting to each from withholding that right, and we find, indeed, that comparisons are fruitless as well as "odious." The circumstances surrounding each class, and even individuals in each, are so different, that the effects of the wrongs and of restoring the rights on each, would be without comparable qualities; and if (here should be discovered a semblance in the condition of these two wronged classes, or a contrast between them, what of it? The inquiry is no more fruitful in relief, than a discussion of the relative destructive powers of fire and water. One right has never yet been created from two wrongs alone. Encease the latter in the polished, symmetrical shell of truth, and they may be exploded against the battlements of oppression with telling effect, and though the truth fall, crushed, it will rise again.

The two propositions, to extend the right of suffrage to women and to negroes will carry, "if put on the same level and urged in the same connection," panoplied in truth and right, as they are with the justness, the depth, the grand democracy of that principle which underlies our whole system of government, namely, the principle involved in *UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE*. It is doubtful to those who have tried it, whether either, alone or singly, can be successfully urged.

E. V. B.

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON.

DEAR MRS. STANTON: From the latitude of Providence, R. I., Mrs. Dall, not long since, premised that things had outgrown Woman's Rights Conventions, and only demanded the Executive hand and brain, in the occupations of society, to complete her happiness.

But as far south as the Capital, the late National Convention of citizens, from nearly all the states, proves, that the old method of getting a great multitude together to listen to words of truth, put (in their case) in a new form, and illustrated at sight, has not lost its power to unite and strengthen human and spiritual forces to do battle against error, and to strike fear to the heart of the evil doer. The gregarious conservatives, one and all, from Senator Vickers in the Senate committee, to the gray headed man and beardless boy in the weekly debate, thrust into the face of the woman petitioner for suffrage that impassable barrier of their fathers, the "army and the navy," "the constitution as it was." A republican government based on bullets; brute force the alpha and omega of Christian civilization, these must forever limit the rights of woman and deny her equal voice in making the laws. They sing the same song of their predecessors, with

here and there an additional false note, and semiquaver, and, like them, will doubtless be permitted to retire, by consent of the people, to the place where their leaders have gone.

But the thinkers rally to the new banner, "Let us have peace," the pertinent, practical prophecy of the age, and seem ready to welcome the change that makes peace possible. The three public meetings for this cause recently held, so enthusiastic that speakers were limited to ten minutes each to give all a chance for utterance, indicates that the convention has inspired the half-hearted with courage and the earnest with new faith and has furnished the young with fresh curiosity to look out from the watch tower of woman's vote.

Gossip is lively on the avenue and in the halls of Congress about "what's a the stir?" Mrs. Stanton, the philosopher, the "fishwoman," the Daniel Webster, are served up at receptions and lobbies with embellishments. The beauties and heresies of Lucretia Mott, are gravely analyzed and laid on the table for perpetual discussion. While the fit of S. B. Anthony's coat, is being tried through all the ranks, the women of the alleys and the avenues presenting extremes, only surface deep, discuss the *lais*, and wonder if their children are in danger. And the school girls on the streets assume to decide that if these things are so, it is better to die poor, with occupation and a name than go into the newspapers as "the *relict*," of the wealthy Mr. Smith.

It is said that Blanche Butler, the sister of Senator Pomeroy's wife, and other young ladies of standing and influence, are taking up the refrain of Woman Suffrage, with a declaration of intentions to take part in the affairs of life.

THE REVOLUTION is making the way for thought and action at the capital. The agent called on the President a few days since and finding him at leisure, handed him a copy, which he examined, and seemed curious to know if it was in earnest!

Gen. Schenck, jealous for his party's patriotism, refuses to subscribe, because he fancies it is in the interests of the Rebel policy.

A distinguished man in the government objected to sustaining a paper that carried the lunatic, George Francis Train, though he confessed he liked the other matter in THE REVOLUTION. The agent asked: "If you, sir, wished to publish a paper and could not for want of means, if George Francis Train would furnish you five thousand dollars, would you take it? He replied by two dollars and his name on the subscription list.

Ward meetings are to be held and the city canvassed and educated for union and action in behalf of the Republic. A Register is about to be opened at the Woman's Suffrage Headquarters, where all in sympathy with the movement, resident or foreign, may enrol their names for future reference. The Committee have been requested to invite Mrs. Stanton to give the citizens another benefit.

J. S. C.

WHAT WOMEN DO.—On the second Sunday in January the usual "women's feast" was celebrated in the villages of Melsterschwanden and Fahrwangen, in Switzerland. On this occasion the women take the men's places. The young men are led to their seats and to the dance by the young girls, and the expenses are exclusively defrayed by the latter. And a jolly thing they make of it.

At an Orphan's Fair in St. Paul recently, says the St. Paul Dispatch, a table to vote for or against Female Suffrage was opened and realized \$30. The vote stood for suffrage, 192—against it, 31.

HOW WOMAN'S LABOR IS ESTIMATED.

The poor negro, in chains of galling servitude, whose life's blood was used only to enrich worldly coffers, was by lash and blood-hound required to look up and call a brutal man his "divinely appointed protector," and the sweet submissiveness of his character, compels us to respect the slave and hate the master. Woman to-day is in chains, bound hand and foot at the mercy of man. She, by press and pulpit, has been taught to look up to and call her enslaver, a "divinely appointed protector." If the tortured soul murmurs, if its instinctive love for the airy abodes of freedom inspire her to flee from her oppressors, the press, with its cat-o'-nine-tails in hand, ties her to the whipping post of public odium, and then, with a passionate fierceness akin to that manifested by the slave-whippers of the south, they inflict their hellish stripes of virulent ridicule upon the naked soul of woman, until the fainting form, through mere mental anguish, dons her chains as a protection against man's rage. If the lashings of the press fail to force submission, and if the victim turns her face toward the star of liberty, then the theological blood-hounds are turned loose from their kennels, and woe to the timid, fleeing slave, when brought to bay. It is mete and appropriate that men, who love to dwell on sulphurous scenes of fiery seas in which sinners are plunged through endless ages, should engage in the christian (?) work of keeping woman in slavery. When we drive the devils of lust and selfishness out of man's nature, there will be no devil left in our theologies. But I digress.

Not many years ago, a man, the lawful owner of a wife, soul and body, offered to trade her off for a gun, sow and pigs. This was an actual occurrence of this neighborhood in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Society smiles at the fact now, but women are bought and sold here as well as in Circassia to-day. The difference is only in the ceremonies. They are bought only to use, and drudge. I can recall a score of cases in this country, alone where this is true. Slave labor is always considered cheap. Is it any wonder that woman's wages are in exact proportion to her degradation? The being man enslaves, ceases to be respected. This is why woman cheapens everything she touches in the shape of labor. The garment a man makes for which he gets \$4.00, woman makes equally as well for \$1.50. That's man's estimation of slave labor. Give woman the ballot and such inhuman outrages will cease.

One more incident of the intense charity manifested by woman's "divinely appointed protectors." The village school here, with some 75 pupils, was conducted by Miss B.—for \$40 per month. The school being too large and not graded, was divided by the directors. Miss B. is a lady of good scholastic attainments, of refined and cultivated manners, and a favorite with the children. She was put into a small, ily-lighted, poorly ventilated room, with some 55 scholars to teach, while they pay a heavy back-headed, sensual looking, vulgar mouthed ignoramus \$60 per month to teach about 20 or 2 scholars. He has a light, airy room, and everything comfortable. He has a certificate for six months. Miss B. has one for two years. Compare the labor and the pay! she teaches 55 to 60 scholars. He 20 to 25. She has a small room with two windows. He has a good school-house and six windows. She is a refined, christian lady. He is vulgar, profane and ill-man-

nered, fit to associate only with roughs. When woman holds the ballot, this paying a premium on sex, vulgarity and ignorance, will cease.

Yours for reform,
Urbana, Ohio. THOS. W. ORGAIN, M.D.

THE BIBLE ARGUMENT.

"Let your women keep silence in the churches," etc.—I. COR. IV. 34, 35.

This passage proved for a time a stumbling block in the way of my accepting the new doctrine of Woman's Rights; for I said, "Let God be true and every man a liar." But presently I said, not by a single passage must we determine the law of God, but rightly comparing Scripture with Scripture. So taking Gal. ii. : 23—"There is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." I balanced the two texts, one against the other, and came to the conclusion that the last must be the general rule, and the first intended to apply to some particular church or peculiar circumstances. Just as people were always wrongly quoting the case of Onesimus against abolitionists, so now it is always, "The head of the woman is man," and never, "So are all one in Christ Jesus."

We must judge Woman's Rights, and all other reforms for which the world was not ready when our Saviour visited it, by their conformity to the spirit of the whole teaching of the New Testament, even though we cannot quote a single chapter or verse as proof that they are right. Just as good arguments against temperance societies have been drawn from the Bible as those against Equal Rights associations, and yet we know the Bible can be shown to be the very source from which originated that good work. But we can go even further, and bring texts which teach in so many words our doctrine of Equal Rights. George Fox, in his letter justifying the Quaker practice of employing women as preachers, quotes a long array of these from both Testaments. E. D. Mansfield, in the Ohio Educational Monthly, says that though "God did make the human being male and female, and adapted their bodies to different objects, he did not give them different souls"—and this fact appears from every page of Holy Writ. "Male and female created He them, and blessed them, and called their name Adam in the day when they were created"—Gen. v. : 2. And did not He make one? Yet had He the residue of the spirit? And wherefore one? That He might seek a godly seed. Therefore take heed to your spirit, and let none deal treacherously against the wife of his youth—Matt. ii. : 15. Again, he says, "There are not two redemptions, nor two condemnations; there are not two standards of character, nor two modes of trial; there is one commandment, one baptism, one condemnation, and one judgment. In all that concerns the existence and nature of the soul, the revealed law has made no distinction between the sexes, and acknowledged none in the world to come. This is enough; it is conclusive; for all the purpose of the soul and of future human nature, is one." From which he draws the conclusion: "Being a unity, there should be no limitation to sex of either education or vocation beyond the limitation of physical ability."

E. LEETS.

A WESTERN paper notices very favorably "Shakespeare's beautiful comedy, 'She Stoops to Conquer.'" What if a woman edited that paper?

PATRONIZING GOD.

DOGBERRY—Masters, do you serve God?
CON. BONA.—Yes, sir, we hope.
DOGB.—Write down—that they hope they serve God—and write God first; for God defend but God should go before such villains.—SHAKESPEARE.

The pent up piety of certain of our fellow-citizens is ventilating itself just now, by way of petition to Congress for an amendment to the constitution, so as, in newspaper phrase, "to recognize Almighty God as the source of all civil authority." Our inscrutable chief magistrate has recently memorialized the Senate on the Divine behalf. Having played the part of "Moses" wrong end up, now that he is about to retire from the stage, the curtain naturally falls upon his effort to pat God on the back.

A late writer, who seems to think that wisdom will not die with the French philosophers, has said, "Peter denied his Lord; it was reserved for Renan to patronize him." We are an ingenious people. We have more labor-saving machinery than was possessed by all the previous generations of hand-workers, and we can turn out an unprecedented amount of cheap work for God, as well as for ourselves. Upon this doleful "Ash Wednesday," we commence to put ourselves upon a fish diet, to his glory. At the end of the prescribed fast on fish, we shall feast ourselves upon quadrupeds, for the same purpose. Something must be done for him, of course—that is, something easy and comfortable. He is a great personage; at least he is to be treated as such; and, as it is doubtful whether he would accept a public dinner in his honor, at Delmonico's, or the Astor, after the manner of the one tendered to Mr. Evans, the next best thing is to give him honorable mention in the constitution of these United States; that being a compliment he can't very well decline. It is a great thing, no doubt, to see one's name in print. It argues an immense degree of reverence on the part of the disinterested ones who put it there. The thing was rather overdone by our pious ancestors, however. The name of the Supreme Being used to appear conspicuously in bills of lading and other mercantile documents; and so mixed up was it with shipments of rum, brandy, whiskey, firearms and the like promoters of peace and good will upon earth, as to suggest a suspicion in unregenerate minds that the pious merchant had fostered God into his invoice by way of insuring the cargo. To-day, the use of the word as it obtained a few generations back, in the common transactions of business, would be deemed, by all thoughtful men, painfully disgusting. What, but sheer cant, could place the name of the *Eternal* upon a shipment of whiskey and tobacco?

And now the cant is to be repeated, if possible. No modern Pecksniff would think now of invoking "the holy Trinity" upon "a bill of particulars;" but there must be a solemn flourish of it upon the written constitution. We have become experts in the art of duty made easy. Lip-service is a great improvement upon life-service, no doubt, would it but answer as well; just as wind is cheaper in the way of power than muscle when it can be made to take its place. Wind is the complement to steam. We serve God with the one and ourselves with the other. Moreover, who would know that we were a Christian people if we didn't write it down somewhere? Who could imagine that Andy Johnson, for example, was particularly regardful of the divine attributes, if he hadn't

asked the Senate, in due form, to have God properly respected?

We are a pious people God-ward—in the way of petition for the public mention of his name, at least, and there is perhaps but one drawback to the perfect felicity naturally arising from this our easy method of honoring the Supreme—the honor, namely, might become an accomplished fact—on paper, and then? Why then, upon second thoughts, we can resort to the old dodge of candles and wafers. So long as we can exemplify the Divine Omnipotence by a lighted candle, we need not despair. We can look into God through that; and the less light upon ourselves the better. In fact it may be stated by way of reviving the drooping spirits of these zealous conservators of God's glory, in case the misfortune of success should follow their petitions, that certain English divines have recently declared in solemn convocation, that the Divine presence is only to be seen upon this planet, in the light of *three wax candles*. Here, you see, we have "the whole duty of man," reduced to an art—a blessed trinity of art—the art of lighting candles, in order that we may see God, the art of groaning over a stale cracker by way of serving him, and the art of petitioning Congress as the practical mode of honoring him. Let us hurry up the petitions, therefore; we can import the candles, duly sanctified, at our leisure. H.

"INALIENABLE RIGHTS" VS. A FEW POPULAR WRONGS.

THE torrent of cheap logic which for years has been poured forth from all points of the intellectual compass by way of preventing woman from tumbling out of her sphere, not unnaturally suggests the question, one would think, as to whether *man* is always to be found in his. Of course, it is a very impudent question; but impudence is not much harder to be borne than stupidity, and there is enough of that on the other side to warrant a little stirring up of masculine bile, if showing the "lords of creation" that they are quite as prone to get out of their sphere as the ladies are, will have that effect.

Dear me! what gushes of wisdom and bursts of oratory we have had to endure from press and platform; what solemn jokes from the stage, adorned by our numerous and respectable colored minstrels, not to mention the baggage drone of certain clerical doctors, all levelled at the point, that, although woman is to some extent a human being, and in Bible estimation one with man in Christ Jesus, she most decidedly makes two with him in politics. The argument is, "they don't want to vote"—that is, the true feeling, right-minded ones, such as grace the ball-room and parlor and show their good sense by not aspiring to a seat at the immaculate dinners eaten in honor of great men. When such as these, together with that blooming class of profound thinkers annually projected on society by our young-lady boarding schools, ask to have a voice in national affairs, it will be time enough to talk about giving them the right. Besides, would you have them vote with the dirty men? Would you see your wife or daughter elbowing her way to the poll like an unfrightened democrat, determined to deposit her vote or perish in the attempt?

Boh! you philosopher in breeches, what has it to do with the question, whether she wants to vote or not? Your responsibility is confined to the question of right on *your* part, to withhold

from her a right, which is common to both by virtue of the organic law, which you concede underlies all just government. Just you attend to that little matter, if you please, and don't run after side-issues. How she will use it, is her business and not yours. If I have money in my pocket which of right belongs to you, my duty is to hand it over on the first opportunity, it ends there. I have no right to mount guard over your disposal of it. So, you just let go of her ballot and don't stand there talking like a fool about what she wants or don't want to do with it.

But her sphere! "She is rushing out of her sphere." Much you know about spheres, you great lubber, standing there, picking up little bits of metal with letters on the end, and arranging them in pretty rows, or dealing out haberdashery from behind the counter of a retail store. Don't talk about the damage to womanly qualities to come from doing what she is naturally best fitted for, until you have found some more manly employment yourself. 'You pitiful, hop-o'-my-thumb, did you never feel the self-degradation of measuring laces and ribbons all day? You should, if there be a spark of true manhood in you. I tell you, you are out of your sphere. It kills all marly aspiration, and makes a mere band-box biped of you for life. The effect upon a woman in your place is just the opposite. She will grow. The right person in the right place is always benefited by the place. All work is useful *per se*; but its highest use is to the worker, provided there be a natural adaptation to it.

Employment which taxes invention, which excites the reason and expands the ideality, stimulates the growth of these faculties. It makes labor artistic, and thus improves both production and producer. Now, in beauty, taste, neatness, in whatsoever, and wheresoever delicate skill and quick perception are required, there is the sphere of woman by authority of nature. Your sphere, you nincompoop, if if you did but know it, is in the realm of strength. It belongs to you to build the structure of civilization; the work of woman is to decorate it and keep it clean. So get out of her way, I tell you. Go to work like a man, and do the work of a man, and "her true sphere" will take care of itself. H.

SENATOR CARPENTER ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

SENATOR CARPENTER, just elected from Wisconsin, answered the inquiry whether he favors the enfranchisement of woman, thus:

MILWAUKEE, Feb. 1, 1869.
HON. D. E. MAXON—Dear Sir: Your favor of the 29th ult. is received. In the speech to which you refer, I think I did employ the word "sex," as you recollect it. Whether I said it or not, I meant it. The present adjustment of the marital relations is a relic of barbarism, and has no better foundation in reason than the institution of slavery—viz.: that might is right.

Truly yours,

MATT. B. CARPENTER.

On the above, a Wisconsin correspondent writes that Mr. Carpenter has just been elected by the Legislature to the U. S. Senate. He is a gentleman of wonderful powers as an orator, and a lawyer of eminent standing, and will wield a strong influence in Congress, being one of the most ready and effective speakers in the country. He is about forty years of age, of vigorous health, fine appearance, and a great student and untiring worker. If, in copying his letter, you assume that Mr. C. will cham-

ion the great cause of woman, you will not, you may rest assured, "reckon without your host." Very cordially yours,

ENGLISH CORRESPONDENCE

MANCHESTER, JANUARY, 1869.

Editors of the Revolution:

Two works on Women, from the French, have just appeared in an English dress. The one is of historical the other of contemporary interest. The former is Monsieur C. A. Sainte Beuve's, and is translated by H. W. Preston. It is entitled "Portraits of Celebrated Women" (Low & Co). In the original these portraits are beautiful and artistic sketches, delicately drawn, and colored with all the warm and brilliant hues that sympathy and genius supply. In the translation, the grace and refinement of style and expression for which M. Ste. Beuve is remarkable, are wanting, but the charm of the subject cannot be destroyed by the most prosaic treatment, and will suffice to rivet the attention of the reader.

"Let not my child be a girl,
For very sad is the life of a woman,"

was the prayer of Mrs. Hemans, and it might serve as a motto to the histories here given of some of the brightest, fairest, and most fascinating, and, in a few instances, the most favored Frenchwomen that ever lived. One of our reviewers justly says of the work: "M. Sainte Beuve's book is a most depressing one. All the women mentioned are unhappy, all seem to beat themselves against a cage; all seem to be suffering under some hidden sorrow which adds grace to their beauty and melody to their eloquence. Most of the women mentioned were authors, whose books were not the expression of healthy labor, but the wailing utterances of the barest, the profound discontent, the sense of the vanity of all things which consumed them. It is impossible to read this work without deep pity for the poor, passionate, unsatisfied hearts, for so much love, and beauty, and intellect thrown broadcast on the world only to find no object capable of receiving such precious gifts." Here, then, are many counts in the long indictment of "woman's wrongs," which runs through the pages of history. The misdirection and oftentimes perversion of these noble powers reawakens the cry, "Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest those that are sent unto thee," with a new application of its lament.

M. Ste. Beuve's touching and eloquent description of his heroines and their surroundings evidently proves the failure of the education and position accorded to them to satisfy their wants and develop their characters as rational beings. One of the "portraits" is of Mme. Roland, the serene and gently "Minister of the Interior," as she was called. Well is she painted, sublime and calm in the prison of the Abbaye, and on the slope of the guillotine, a true martyr to liberty. Another still more exquisitely drawn is of Mme. de Krudener, the disciple of Juleg Stilling, whose sybil-like genius obtained for her such remarkable celebrity as a preacher and prophetess. She enjoyed the friendship of the Queen of Prussia and of the Emperor Alexander of Russia on whom her conversation had a great influence. She held prayer meetings in Paris which were attended by many distinguished personages. She preached to the multitudes who assembled to hear her in Switzerland and Germany, and after an eventful

life died in the Crimea at the age of sixty-eight, in the year 1824.

The other work to which I have referred applies to the present time, and is called "Studious Women." It is translated from the French of Monsiègneur Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, by R. M. Philmore (Virtue & Co). The reviewer above quoted says that this "is an admirable and eloquent translation of one of the best books ever written about women! The tone is noble and generous, and the substance wise. The Bishop's estimate of women is tender and noble; his ideas of education for them are liberal and enlarged. He entertains no hope of men becoming wiser or better until women exact wisdom and nobleness from them. In May last year an article appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, from the pen of Miss Boucherett on the "Condition of Women in France." It was mainly a brief resume of Mlle. Danbrie's work, "La Femme Pauvre au xix me Siecle." To this valuable work M. Dupanloup's volume forms an important complement as he addresses himself to the middle and upper classes. He points out, with great earnestness, and not without reproach, to the ladies of France how their present superficial and showy education reduces them to mere playthings and pleasure-seekers, and how this degradation of womanhood has, by an inevitable law, led to the degradation of mankind in that country. He shows that this fearful Nemesis has been brought on men by their own acts in denying to women such educational advantages and facilities as would have elevated their minds and led them to demand a nobler standard of excellence and better aims in life from men. The object of the work is the higher education of women. As some steps have already been made by the classes initiated in Paris last year, let us hope that the eloquent advocacy of the cause in "Studious Women" will find a practical response all over the country, and that our neighbors, on the other side of the channel, may soon enjoy a system like our Courses of Lectures and University Examinations for Women. I trust that these last are but the preliminaries to still more thorough means of education for the higher classes in England. For girls engaged in mechanical and industrial pursuits we must demand a share in the benefits of the *Technical Schools* of the need for which in this country we have heard so much since last Paris Exposition.

Mademoiselle Daubre's book on the working women of France is a prize essay, written under the following circumstances: The Academy of Lyons offered a prize for the essay which should the best set forth and explain the means by which the following objects might be attained: 1st. The raising of the wages of women to the same level as those of men where the quality and amount of work are equal; 2d. The opening of new employments and professions to women which should replace those that have one after another been taken from them by the rivalry of men and the change in manners and customs."

Mlle. Danbrie won the prize which forms one thick octavo volume, and is published with the title of "La Femme Pauvre au xix me Siecle. Par Mlle. J. V. Deubie. Ouvrage couronne par L'Academie de Lyon, Paris: Librairie de Guillaumin et Cie, 1866." The work goes very thoroughly into these subjects, and though the circumstances are different in England and America, it is full of warning and instruction for us. It appears that the condition and treatment of women in France, with regard to their

means of obtaining a livelihood, has become gradually worse and worse during the last seventy or eighty years.

It makes one's blood boil to read of the hindrances, one after another, which have been placed in the way not only of professional and artistic, but of even simple, honest labor for women. They have been excluded from all the posts of any value in the government departments to which they were formerly admitted freely. They have been deprived of situations in hospitals and *Monts-de-Piete*. They have been expelled from the medical schools and the academy of painting. These things are done not from any incompetency on the part of women, but in order to make room for men, and, in the case of government situations, because men have votes which are thus secured by their patrons. The legislation is cruelly adverse to the interests of women, and since 1850 has forbidden girls to attend the *Ecoles Professionnelles*, or *Technical Schools*, in which the students are prepared for their future trades by instruction of a more special kind than that given in the primary schools. In the schools for the deaf and dumb and for the blind, twice as many boys receive the free admissions in the gift of government as are given to girls, for the obvious reason that no political profit can be won from the gratitude of the latter. Even in the matter of out-door relief to the poor, men get the lion's share, as statistics prove.

As a natural consequence of the law which excludes girls from obtaining a good education in art, the number of women employed in Paris in one trade alone (china painting) has dwindled down to less than half the number employed a few years ago, while the same law enables men to successfully compete with them in dressmaking and millinery!

To conclude, in the words of Miss Boucherett, "It is unnecessary to multiply instances; the same unfavorable influence is everywhere exerted in France against the employment of women. The moral we draw from these facts is, that centralization, when united to manhood suffrage, is not advantageous to women, but the contrary; and that wherever large numbers of workmen are admitted to the suffrage, unmarried working women ought to be admitted to its exercise also, as the possession of the suffrage then becomes necessary for their protection.

"Why Women Desire the Franchise" is the title of Miss Cobbe's pamphlet just published by the London National Society for Women's Suffrage. I send you a copy of it per book-post. The merits of the "Question" are summed up in nine excellent "Reasons" for woman's enfranchisement, which are founded on the following points:

1. Because women fulfil the property qualification on which political rights are based in England.
2. Because the exclusion of women entails a moral and intellectual loss to the community at large.
3. Because the interests of a non-represented class are liable to suffer.
4. Because the Legislature of England neglects women and favors men.
5. Because women are taxed and do not share the privileges attached to that burden.
6. Because their legal disabilities place women at a serious disadvantage in competing with men in numerous business offices and employments.
7. Because in consequence of the denial of

the suffrage to women, men are led to despise and oppress them and treat offences against them with levity.

8. Because the denial of the right to the direct exercise of their judgment has a weakening and degrading effect on the minds of women.

9. Finally, we desire the franchise for women, because, while believing that men and women have different works to do in life, we will hold that, in the choice of political representatives, they have the same task to accomplish, namely: the joint selection of a Senate, which will guard with equal care the rights of both sexes, and which shall embody in its laws that true justice which shall approve itself not only to the strong, but also to the weak.

The St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Manchester Examiner and Times* gives an account of a step which the Russian government is about to take as interesting as it is unexpected from such a quarter; namely the adoption of a modified Maine Law in the Russian Capital. The government of the Czar is going to make the experiment of reducing the taverns to probably a fourth of their present number. Bearing in mind that corn brandy is the favorite intoxicant of the ordinary Russian, we may form some conception of the changes proposed which are as follows. 1. To increase the price of corn brandy three-fold. 2. To allow no taverns in any of the main thoroughfares. 3. To regard every tavern as a hotel and require every keeper to pay the customary hotel due of £70. 4. To allow no tavern to be open within eight yards of a government office. There is no doubt that a view into the interior of the taverns of St. Petersburg, such as the evidence of travellers has frequently supplied us with, would abundantly prove the need for this first step towards rescuing the Russian people from the opportunity to reduce themselves to a state of brutal degradation which they find in those dens of iniquity.

Numerous paragraphs have appeared in our papers respecting the Woman's Suffrage Convention in Boston. The New England Woman's Club has also been noticed with interest. Our methods of working are different from yours, but we do not, therefore, the less heartily say, "Go on and prosper."

I send you the *Manchester Examiner and Times* for the last day of 1868. The Summary of the year's events from the Liberal point of view here may interest you. Although the "Question of Female Suffrage" has not found a place in the record, the fact, as Miss Cobbe remarks, that it is now fully recognized by politicians is a significant one, and though we cannot speak as having attained, we may say this much that the steps taken, on both sides of the Atlantic, in its behalf, during the past year, especially during the last few months, are full of hope for the future. Wishing you a very Happy New Year, I am, yours truly, B. M.

A SKATING match at Buffalo between two young women took place before an assemblage of four thousand persons. After a very exciting contest, the match was won by Miss Dean, the score standing 34 to 31. Miss Godbout has challenged Miss Dean to skate another match, for the same amount.

A WIFE only thirteen years' old was divorced from her husband, in this city, a few days ago. She was fortunate doubtless; and ditto, he.

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.
PARKER FILLISBURY,
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 18, 1869.

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may be obtained at nearly every county seat, in all the cities, and in many of the large towns. We consider them perfectly safe, and the best means of remitting fifty dollars or less, as thousands have been sent to us without any loss.

REGISTERED LETTERS,

under the new system, which went into effect June 1st, are a very safe means of sending small sums of money where a P. O. Money Order cannot be easily obtained. Observe, the *Registry fee*, as well as postage, must be paid in stamps at the office where the letter is mailed, or it will be liable to be sent to the Dead Letter Office. Buy and affix the stamp both for postage and registry, put in the money and seal the letter in the presence of the postmaster, and take his receipt for it. Letters sent in this way to us are at our risk.

BOIL IT DOWN.—No article over two columns will, hereafter, be admitted in THE REVOLUTION. S. B. A.

CONSTITUTIONAL PATCHWORK.

A good mother in Western New York says she has lived for forty-six years and brought up six children, and has never yet found time to buy calico to cut into half inch pieces, to see how many thousand she could put into a single bed quilt. Congress is not obliged to be thus economical. It has taken in hand the Federal constitution and is rapidly reducing it to a thing of shreds and patches. The fourteenth article of amendments, has been reported in THE REVOLUTION with such comments and strictures as seemed appropriate at the time.

A fifteenth article is now pending and will probably soon be submitted to the states for ratification, or more likely for rejection. It may not be out of place at this time, to present the two together, so far as they relate directly to the questions of suffrage and citizenship, that readers may have them at hand for consideration and discussion.

ARTICLE XIV.—SEC. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for the President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

ART. 15. No discrimination shall be made in the United States among the citizens of the United States in the exercise of the elective franchise, or in the right to hold office, in any state, on account of race, color, nativity, property, education or creed.

Amendments, these are called. In them, out of more than forty others, proposed, we have the essence, the quintessence of a three or four years attempt by Congress to restore the government and reconstruct the Union. The poverty of the English language is not remarkable, but it cannot describe so sublime a failure as this. An honest Congress could have achieved all that has been done or attempted at reconstruction, without touching the constitution. So Mr. Sumner, and many other gentlemen, held at the outset. But he and all the rest, with one or two exceptions, soon fell, and became accomplices in some of the foulest conspiracies against justice and liberty ever recorded in history.

The constitution, unamended, disfranchised nobody on account of color or sex. It granted a republican form of government to each state, with ample scope for Congress to so construe the language and to define citizenship as to extend equal suffrage and right of representation to every one who was held amenable to that government and was taxed for its support. Lying back of it was the immortal Declaration of Independence, hurling thunders against any government that did not derive all its power "from the consent of the governed." Thus armed and furnished, Congress entered on the work of restoring the broken fragments of our once proud and vaunting nationality. Had it been brave and honest, brave because honest, the work would have been easy. Slavery had from the beginning "hung," as Andrew Johnson said of Congress, "on the verge of the government," though it had no business there, or any where else this side the brazen, inexorable doors of hell. But slavery was abolished. The tree had been hewn down by the battle-axe of the Almighty, and given to consuming fire. And with it, should and would have perished all its types and shadows, had the president been honest and loyal, or Congress bold, firm and faithful to the right. No word while dishonored, no word male disgraced the constitution. Like the double-edged sword, it could and would have turned everyway to guard the portals of our American Eden, the serpent having been driven out, but there was no angel found thus to wield it in freedom's defence. And now behold the worse than fig-leaf patchwork with which Congress has sought to cover itself in what it calls "Amendments to the Constitution!" Never in all the history of legislation was an honest, trusting people so deluded, defrauded and outraged before.

The insertion of the word *male* three times repeated in as many lines, was a shameless affront to all of woman-kind, placing her, not only outside the pale of citizenship, but of humanity itself. The section recognizes nothing, knows nothing but male.

But the two sections taken together, even as they relate to this mighty male, devour each other with a perfect Killkenny cat voracity. The first defines citizenship to "include all persons born or naturalized in the United States." It then declares, "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States."

Then the second section as clearly provides for the direct, palpable and most unrighteous violation of the first. If not, what does it mean when it talks about "the right to vote being denied, or in any way abridged, to any male citizen?" And what is the penalty for this "denying, or in any way abridging" that right?

It is the very sanction of the crime itself! The amendment says you shall not deny, or in any way abridge, that sacred right. The penalty is, if you do, the disfranchised shall never more be reckoned worthy even to be represented in the government! The man robbed is thenceforth doomed to be robbed by law, provided only that the robbers shall share the plunder together. The south shall not rob the negroes of their right of suffrage, and then count them in the basis of representation, because that would give undue advantage over the north. But rob them until crack of doom, and hold them afterwards not as persons but things, as brute beasts, not counted nor countable as population, and here is our right hand of fellowship, brotherhood, union and nationality, one and indivisible for evermore! The disfranchised, proscribed, outlawed, are not to be consulted. They have no rights which any legal voter is bound to respect.

Such is the fourteenth article of amendments. In the last result, it leaves the question of suffrage, as does the republican, Chicago, Grant platform, to the states themselves; fully authorizing them to disfranchise to whatever extent they please.

The fifteenth article declares positively, that "no discrimination shall be made in the United States, among the citizens, in the exercise of the elective franchise, or in the right to hold office in any state, on account of race, color, nativity, property, education or creed." This is only a stronger and more definite statement of the proposition in the first section of the preceding article.

Why is there not a second section here also, to nullify the first? It surely is just as admissible in the one case as in the other. Or does the second section of article fourteen reach down as well as up, and repeal both? If so, the fifteenth article is virtually of no effect, and the whole Congressional incubation of the past winter, and of the past three years, so far as relates to reconstruction, is lost. Does anybody know, does Congress itself know whether that second section is to remain a part of the constitution or not?

The whole muddle suggests the speech of an early Missouri orator, who, mounting a stump in the back woods, began his harangue thus: "Ladies and gentlemen of both sexes: Is there one among you, man, woman, or child, who has got to the age of fifty years, who has not felt the force of the speech just made thrilling through his soul for centuries?"

But if the nullifying clauses of the second section of the fourteenth article are repealed, and Congress assumes entire control over the question of suffrage in all the states, and the constitution is really changed to that effect, the whole question of Woman's Rights must be opened anew. The hostility to her enfranchisement will be augmented by the added force of all the uneducated, unlightened, degraded and imbruted classes south, west, native, foreign, Teuton, Celtic, Ethiopie, all of every name and nation, born or enticed to our almost boundless coasts. Were all citizens enfranchised, male, female, white, black, yellow, copper, or neither, under a uniform system of suffrage, guaranteed by the constitution, it would be well. But with the whole power of the government made up of such male elements only, petrified into one solid mountain mass and piled upon her, woman's prospect must become dismal indeed. Hitherto, by acting on the different states separately, there has been hope. In some of the states, high hopes of success, and that again, have been

THE REVOLUTION.

fondly cherished. In Massachusetts, New York, Kansas, and some other western states, triumph has begun to seem near at hand. And no well-read and reflecting person can doubt that the experiment tried in even one state, would present results so desirable as that other states would soon gladly follow, and the whole country be speedily converted.

But under the proposed regulation, no such advantage would be possible. The east might be all enlightened and eager for the change, but western prejudice could hold it back for generations. The north might earnestly desire the revolution, but the south could stay it forever. For fifty years at least, the north would gladly have seen chattel slavery give up the ghost. It was a national scourge and curse. But the south was determined to continue it, and did prolong it, until it wrought her utter ruin.

And yet the amendment does not secure even universal male suffrage. It leaves the *bravest* (perhaps the worst) men of the south in outlawry, and places over them, as eligibles to be voted for as well as to vote, the colored men there, who surely cannot be any wiser than the average foreign population of New York, of whom so many stand in trembling apprehension. It strikes down all educational, property, religious and residence tests which some of the states, Massachusetts among the rest, had set up; and makes any future purification of the suffrage nearly impossible, however important it may become. Indeed, many prominent republican journals are already condemning it and expressing both the belief and the hope that it will never be ratified by the states.

Let the proposed amendments to the constitution become the law of the land, and universal male suffrage be well established, and a pall of gloom would settle down on woman's political prospect, more fearful than the plague of darkness in Egypt. If Congress sends forth such a measure to the people, the act will deserve the abhorrence and execration of all that is noble, honorable, just and righteous on earth and in heaven. It will be a deed of indecency, audacity, and meanness, as well as of injustice and cruelty, without parallel in the annals of the civilized world.

No wonder that in the prospect of so dire a calamity, humane, philanthropic and high-minded women declare their unwillingness that another male voter shall be created, until woman also shall have the right. Such a measure as the one now pending, will and should drive every noble, generous and manly man to their side and to full sympathy with their sentiments. To rejoice over such extension of right of suffrage would be mockery worthy of the bloodiest despots who ever scourged mankind; or madness like that which tickles the poor lunatic into mirth and shout and song, as he stands naked and haggard, lost and lorn, he champs the straw in his iron cage!

Those women and all those abolitionists who have so far forgotten themselves, and their young sisters and daughters, and eternal justice and unchangeable right, as to abandon principle, and, from a low, servile policy, proclaim this "the negro's hour," which is humanity's hour, which is everybody's hour, which is unquestionably God's own hour to bless and save, if they will permit Him, may yet learn in sadness and sorrow of soul, when too late for the present generation to retrieve the wrong, how dangerous, how fatal (however well intended) are all such deviant and forbidden ways.

P. P.

ALTHOUGH the new year has opened with many new journals to advocate the education and elevation of woman, none will fill the advanced position taken by THE REVOLUTION.

This paper, like its editors and proprietor, will be the advance guard to receive the steady fire of the opposition—the target for the wit and ridicule, the spite and spleen of the indolent, the unthinking, the conservative, the timid friends, and bold enemies. Feeling that we have a work that these new journals will no more do than would the women who edit them have done our work years ago, we shall move forward on this same line, attacking injustice and oppression wherever we find them steadily claiming for woman the right to bound her own sphere, and to do whatever she can do well.

We, however, extend the right hand of fellowship to all these new workers in the cause of woman, for the harvest is white and the laborers are few, and freely forgive them, one and all, the ungracious way in which they always refer to those who have bravely borne ridicule and scorn for the triumph of those ideas they advocate to-day.

Let the new converts to Woman's Suffrage remember that those who advocated this idea thirty years ago, are not less womanly, less refined, less cultivated, less worthy and faithful in every relation of life than themselves, and that the odium that is attached to their names is the result of the fact that they tormented the world with a new idea before it was ready to receive it.

It is very natural for those who to-day find all they say acceptable, to argue that we who advocated the idea thirty years ago would have been equally so if we had done it in the right way. Yet look over the reports of woman's conventions for the last twenty years, addresses before the legislature, appeals, petitions and resolutions, and they are far more temperate than much that is said in our daily journals by men themselves, to-day. It is neither graceful nor fair for such women as Gail Hamilton, Mrs. Horace Mann, Julia Ward Howe, or Harriet Beecher Stowe, as they rake up the great truths we advocated more than a quarter of a century, to excuse their own blindness and indifference and pay tribute to the world's prejudices by building up a man of straw out of what they supposed the leaders in this movement had thought, said and done, and thus display their superior wisdom in pointing out the defects of those who led the way.

When Mrs. Howe said, "she did not wish to accuse her great-grandfather, grandfather, or father of cruelty, or her husband of being a satan behind the door," she simply expressed the feeling of all true women. When we arraign men in general for their oppressive laws, and specify their innumerable acts of injustice, we do not reflect on the individual men of our households any more than our forefathers did when they made out their famous bill of indictment against George III.

E. C. S.

MR. ALCOTT ON WOMAN.—Let no reader of THE REVOLUTION, or of the Boston Radical, fail to read the Conversation on Woman by Mr. Alcott, concluded this week. Every word was worthy a place in these columns. But there are many who wish to be heard. A small weekly journal has to economize its space with miserly care, especially when devoted to subjects like ours.

"THE SPHERE OF MAN."

A few weeks since we offered Anna Dickinson's picture to any one (we meant any woman) who would send us an able article on the Sphere of Man. And, lo! in the simplicity of their hearts, at least a dozen "white males" have sent us essays on this important question.

This is truly amusing, as if we had the slightest idea of resting this matter on the decision of those who can only take a subjective view of the question.

On the same principle that man assumes to decide woman's sphere, we shall claim the right of deciding his sphere, though we shall not begin by shutting him up in a nut-shell, nor keep him six thousand years wandering without a purpose in the wilderness. We shall not veil his face, compress his ribs, put his feet in iron shoes, nor compel him to fight his way, inch by inch, into the world of work, art, science, or literature.

But we do propose to discuss his sphere thoroughly, just as our sphere has been discussed, from Father Gregory down to Dr. Todd, and we hope the brilliant *femmes covert* all over the country will rouse themselves for the work. Let our daily journals glow with "Man's Sphere," "Advice to Husbands," "Advice to Young Men," "Mrs. Sprague's Letters to her Sons," "The True Husband," "The Self-sacrifice of Man," etc., etc.

As to those essays already received; we shall give them a careful reading, publish the best one, and send the author the promised picture, though it is a work of supererogation for a being who has taken possession of the universe of matter and mind, explored the clouds, the North Pole and the bed of the ocean, put his name on every pyramid, spire and pinnacle, and written it in all the constitutions from Alfred the Great to Ulysses the Small, to undertake to bound his own sphere. However, it will be amusing to see what these men say of themselves.

E. C. S.

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSEKEEPING.

DR. DIO LEWIS has introduced it admirably into Boston in one form, in his eight story boarding house. The lower story is a restaurant. The building has a steam elevator and two dum-waiters, sixty large rooms, with hot and cold water in every bedroom, a mile and a quarter of speaking tube connecting every room in the house with the office. The price of suites of rooms ranges from \$300 to \$2,000 per annum. Parties or families can be served with meals at a few minutes notice, without leaving their rooms, and everything goes on so satisfactorily that it is said the Doctor now only regrets that he had not built twelve stories instead of eight. Here is a good beginning. Now let us have similar establishments at cheaper rates, but as well conducted, to meet the wants of the million.

TELEGRAPH SCHOOL FOR WOMEN.—A free school for teaching women the art of telegraphy opened on the 15th of this month, at the Cooper Institute in this city. This school is established by the Cooper Union in conjunction with the Western Union Telegraph Company, and is the first attempt in this country to give women a regular training as telegraph operators. Application we understand, is to be made to Mr. Vincent Colyer at the Institute.

THE CHICAGO SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

ONLY a meagre report of its proceedings has come to hand, excepting the letter of Mrs. Stanton. The meetings were very fully attended, and the earnestness and enthusiasm most encouraging. A Western Suffrage Association was formed with Mrs. Livermore of Chicago for President; radical resolutions, were adopted with great unanimity; and the interest and determination throughout characteristic of the West, promises most auspiciously for the success of the cause. Miss Anna Dickinson was in attendance, and Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony of THE REVOLUTION.

THE POPE ON WOMAN'S DRESS.

MILE MARIE DE GENTILES, a French lady interested almost more than any other woman of her nation in the cause of woman, having recently published a book deploring and censuring the luxury and extravagance of women in their dress and manner of living, has received a letter from the Pope, highly approving of her effort, wishing her success in her undertaking, and bestowing upon her his parental blessing as a guarantee of that success. In his letter, Pius IX. recalls the fact that during the last fall he was obliged to admonish the people of Rome on the same subject. The Pope's complaint is that devotion to fashion interferes with proper attention to religion. He is right. It is utterly impossible that there should be a great growth, either morally, intellectually or spiritually, while all the faculties of the mind are absorbed in this one passion of dress. It is high time that women were educated to higher aspirations than the mere adornment of the body. The Reformer has no greater foe to fight than this single one of fashion. There is no bigotry equal to it.

WOMAN ADVANCING.—It is said that the daughter of a New York lawyer is the first of her sex to attend medical lectures at the University of Vienna, and is remarkably proficient in dissecting. A Wallachian Princess, Dora d'Istria is believed to be the most learned woman of our times. She reads and speaks fifteen languages it is said, writes beautiful novels and profound essays, has a thorough knowledge of the most intricate positions of the Oriental question, is a brilliant conversationalist, and, at the same time, very handsome and graceful. It is a reproach that the last quality is ever specified. Every woman should be handsome and graceful, as well as brilliant in conversation. It is a most important part of her birthright, long lost, but to be restored in the reign of truth, justice and righteousness.

THE METROPOLITAN RECORD.—It is a full grown Irish paper. But what school does it attend, to what church go, what almanac consult, or what newspaper take, to talk in this way?

Woman Suffrage appears to be making some headway, and we are sorry for it. No man who respects woman and no woman who respects herself, deifies it or advocates it outside of a few fanatics like Susan B. Anthony, or notoriety-hunters like George Francis Train, or popularity-seekers like Wilson, Wade, et al. And yet, by sheer force of iteration, it is beginning to make its way.

Verily, the like of that, we have not seen before, at least in 1869. "Beginning to make headway!" Look out for the Engine, Mr. Record.

HANDSOME TRIBUTE TO MRS. MOTT

On the morning of Sunday, Jan. 31st, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher announcing that the use of the Sunday school room of Plymouth Church had been granted some ladies in which to meet, on the following Friday evening, to pay their respects to Mrs. Lucretia Mott, added: There are few persons in these United States for whom I would go further to express esteem and admiration and affection than for this venerable woman, who stands only a few days longer, as it were, upon this earth; but whose memory will endure as long as the sun and moon. A great nature is hers, made great by goodness, purity and largeness of soul. I love to honor her for womanhood's sake; and it is, perhaps, an added pleasure that she belongs to a different denomination from my own. I like to honor persons of another church, even more, I think, than persons who belong to my own denomination, as it is a fuller testimony of God's spirit in the heart. I suppose that if any of the persons of our congregation desire, at the close of the prayer meeting, to shake hands with Lucretia Mott, she will not object. I hope to myself.

A DARING WIFE.

CAPTAIN BURTON, the celebrated traveller, dispatched his wife home to London from Brazil to oversee the publication of his latest work on that country. Not altogether agreeing with her husband on some social and moral problems, and with him at a safe five thousand miles off, she presumed up a Preface of her own to his work, of which the following is the material part:

Before the reader dives into the interior of Brazil with my husband as a medium, let me address two words to him.

I have returned home, on six months' leave of absence, after three years in Brazil. One of the many commissions I am to execute for Capt. Burton is to see the following pages through the press.

It has been my privilege, during those three years, to have been his almost constant companion; and I consider that to travel, write, read, and study under such a master, is no small boon to any one desirous of seeing and learning.

Although he frequently informs me, in a certain Oriental way, that the "Moslem can permit no equality with women," yet he has chosen me, his pupil, for this distinction, in preference to a more competent stranger.

As long as there is anything difficult to do, a risk to be incurred, or any chance of improving the mind and of educating oneself, I am a very faithful disciple; but I now begin to feel, that while he and his readers are old friends, I am humbly standing unknown in the shadow of his glory. It is therefore time for me respectfully but firmly to assert that, although I proudly accept of the trust confided to me, and pledge myself not to avail myself of my discretionary powers to alter one word of the original text, I protest vehemently against his religious and moral sentiments, which belie a good and chivalrous life. I point the finger of indignation particularly at what misrepresents our Holy Roman Catholic Church, and at what upholds that unnatural and repulsive law, Polygamy, which the author is careful not to practise himself, but from a high moral pedestal he preaches to the ignorant as a means of population in young countries.

I am compelled to differ with him on many other subjects; but, be it understood, not in the common spirit of domestic jar, but with a mutual agreement to differ and enjoy our differences, whence points of interest never fail.

Having now justified myself, and given a friendly warning to a fair or gentle reader—the rest must take care of themselves—I leave him or her to steer through these anthropological sandbanks and hidden rocks, as best he or she may.

THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT.—It is particularly interesting this week.

OWING to the influx of new subscribers, the business accruing with the new year, and the extra requirements made on our time by the late conventions, our letters have multiplied, so that we are somewhat behind hand with our correspondence. We trust our subscribers will not grow impatient. As their subscriptions are received, the letters are placed on file, and our business manager tells us that a few days more will see the last of them acknowledged. We are sorry to say that our supply of numbers 2 and 3, Vol. 3, which was enormously large, is exhausted, and therefore we cannot furnish them to those not already supplied.

THE REVOLUTION.—This able and fearless advocate of Woman's Rights and woman's wages and suffrage, has already talked itself into popularity and gained a foothold among the permanent and live papers of the Metropolis. Its thousands of subscribers seem to be active workers, and are constantly crowding up its list and circulation with a zeal and interest we have ever needed in the broader subject of Spiritualism, which involves all the blessings and advantages it claims for woman, and also presents the reality and beauty of the spirit-life to those who labor faithfully in this for the good of their fellow-beings.

The above is from the Boston Banner of Light. The complimentary allusions to our subscribers are deserved, and we are trying hard, all hands of us, to make THE REVOLUTION worthy of all acceptance. Meanwhile, it is pleasant to recognize in the Spiritualists, as a body, an invincible phalanx of co-workers in the social, industrial and political evolution of woman.

WHITE PINE SILVER MINES.—Nevada seems inlaid with silver. It used to be said of a certain California Gold district that it was very rich in gold, but that the miners had nearly abandoned it discouraged, as they had to dig through immense deposits of silver before they could reach it. The Nevadans are satisfied with silver, and they well may be as the results of November and December, show for which we are indebted to our Nevada correspondent. We have not room for the tables but refer enquirers to the advertisement of the White Pine District in another part of THE REVOLUTION.

WHY MARRIAGES ARE DECLINING.—A. T. Stewart has sold twenty shawls this season worth \$3,000 each, and one worth \$4,600. One woman ran up a bill for \$20,000 at his store in a couple of months. At the recent "Charity ball" in this city, a lady paid ten thousand dollars for diamonds to shine in on the occasion. Carlyle said England had long been endeavoring to reform herself by "tremendous cheers." She also eats costly dinners to get soup for her starvelings. One of the wisest of men once said, "the ploughing of the wicked is sin." And a greater than he asked "To what purpose are your sacrifices unto me?" Your Charity balls, for instance, and costly feasts?

NEW HAMPSHIRE PETITIONS.—The women of New Hampshire have good friends of their cause in their Senator Cragin and Representative Ela. The former in presenting a Petition the other day in the Senate, accompanied it with the following graceful remarks:

I have received and been requested to present a petition signed by about four hundred citizens of New Hampshire, asking that the right of voting may be given to women on the same terms as to men. This petition is signed by some of the best citizens of the state of New Hampshire. It is headed by Nathaniel White, one of the most worthy and patriotic and influential citizens in my state. I take pleasure in presenting the petition

and I will say that if I have come rather late into this business, I am promised in future a good supply of similar petitions, which I shall present with pleasure.

HESTER VAUGHAN AND GEN. COLE AGAIN.

Is equity a matter of money wholly? One is tempted to think so, when comparing these two cases. This little extract is significant.

The counsel for the defense of General George W. Cole, in the Hiscock murder case, were paid by his brother, Senator Cole, of California, at a cost of not less than \$50,000—James T. Brady, of New York, received not less than \$5,000 for his services at the last trial.

Poor Hester! poor in a double sense. She had no wealthy brother to pour unlimited thousands into a lawyer's pocket, no senatorial influence to weigh down the heads of a flunkie jury. This girl is condemned to death, not because she is guilty, but because lacking wealth and position she had no way to win either justice or mercy. Miserable, depaved young woman! Can any punishment be too severe for this want of money and friends? No, go to the scaffold, child, at the bidding of your "natural protectors," or linger out your weary life in Moyamensing, while Gen. Cole, who was proved to have committed a premeditated and brutal murder, leaves his prison and goes out into an admiring world with all the eclat of an injured martyr. Oh, consistency, thy name is—Man! N. M.

VACCINATION.—The Small Pox rages in California and the *Golden City* says the doctors and men in authority meantime are discussing the efficacy of vaccination. It is contended on one hand that vaccination is not a sure preventive, and on the other that it is sure, if properly performed. Admitting the correctness of the latter position, the *Golden City* asks, how is the patient to know if it is properly performed? He gets himself vaccinated and believes it "takes." He fancies him self secure until he finds himself in the grasp of the disease. He is told then that the vaccine was impure or had lost its virtue. Perhaps he is consoled by the assurance that if the matter had been good, and if it had operated properly, he would have been safe. The Editor thinks vaccination should still go on. So do multitudes; but a more fearful if not fatal mistake, could scarcely be made. Rather let it be "*anathema maranatha*."

VERMONT UNIVERSALISTS.—The *Repository*, their denominational organ, is perpendicular and emphatic on Woman's Suffrage. Its Editor says:

There should be no distinction, as regards voters, on account of color, sex or property. Are not the best educated and most highly cultivated women of the United States much better qualified to vote intelligently, morally and religiously, than half the men in the country? And, for the life of us, we cannot see how, or wherein it would degrade them to do so. They are qualified to vote, and as citizens they have the same rights and the same interests at stake as men. They have the same country to lose or save—the same institutions to perfect and perpetuate.

ADVICE TOO LATE.—At a recent installation at Warren, Mass., the people were charged not to try their pastor's sermons by the rhetoric of Wendell Phillips, nor the gospel according to Anna Dickinson. But what would the pulpit not give for the power and influence of those two mighty workers in the cause of humanity?

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS OF US.

From Forney's Press.

A NEW paper, in the interests of Woman's Rights, has been started against the spirited REVOLUTION, edited by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mr. Parker Pillsbury, which is blamed very much for leaning to the Copperheads, who, according to Harper's *Weekly*, while professing friendship to Female Suffrage, did not with the women to fight, but only hoped by pretending to do so, to deprive the new colored citizens from enjoying the ballot.

Oh! no, Mr. Forney, the new paper takes the same high ground of THE REVOLUTION, that the ballot is as important for the black woman as the black man. As to Harper's *Weekly*, it is too much given to pictures to regard facts.

From the American Housewife, Indianapolis.

The *Spirits* and REVOLUTION seem to forget that there has been a paper published by a lady for the last five years. To hear them talk, one would suppose they were the pioneers of the movement. Remember, ladies, there is a *Monitor* in Indiana.

We said that THE REVOLUTION was the first woman's paper that demanded the right of suffrage. Women edited papers many years ago. Mrs. Nicholas of Kansas edited a democratic paper in Vermont twenty years ago, and her able editorials (supposed to be from a man's pen) were extensively copied.

From the Springfield Republican.

Mrs. Stanton considers the recent convention at Washington in behalf of Woman's Suffrage a great success, and thinks the cause was much advanced by it. We hope this may be true of the whole effect of the meeting, but the speeches attributed to Mrs. Stanton herself seem very poorly adapted to promote their object. Abandoning the calm argumentative style, in which she excels, she has fallen into the scolding vein, mixed with not a little of the extravagance and rant for which the crazy Train is distinguished. When she objects to the extension of the suffrage to any more men, until women are enfranchised, because, "as the tyrants are multiplied the condition of the subjects becomes more hopeless and degraded," and because "the male element is a destructive force, selfish, loving war and violence, and breeding in the material and moral world alid discord, disease and death," she appears to give reasons why women should avoid association with these despots and destructives rather than seek it. This is neither the right manner nor the right spirit, Mrs. Stanton; it is neither just nor politic. The men are not unwilling to grant to women their rights. They wait for you to show them what these rights are. They come to you to be taught. If you scold them and call hard names they will go away unconvinced. This work requires patience; it involves a great social revolution, and is not to be completed in a day.

Patience is the passion of great souls, and woman has exercised that virtue 6,000 years. We have, indeed, been calm and argumentative, and talked to this wicked and perverse generation of men with an imperturbable good nature, that some say passes all understanding. Now if good Mr. Bowles could have been in the audience in Washington and heard the whole speech, he would have seen that all such harsh passages as the above were set in a frame work of charity and tenderness, that made them quite endurable, and the dear men present never dreamt they were scolded or called hard names; and had not the wicked reporters stripped the speech of its drapery and left only the sharp points in bold relief, the Springfield Republican might have joined with Washington Senators in complimenting our "able and eloquent speech." True, we differ with our good republicans at one point. We think the enfranchisement of women more important than black men. When Mr. Bowles found himself unjustly imprisoned in New York, if the question had been whether he, or his colored brethren in the next cell, should be first set at liberty, we doubt

whether Mr. Bowles would have consented to wait indefinitely for his turn to come.

From the World.

Mrs. E. Cady Stanton, a most excellent lady, whose heart is in a noble work, but whose chirography is less clear than her convictions, invites the *World* to set right sundry wrong things in our recent publication of one of her addresses. To right all wrongs is the work of the *World*. So we hear Mrs. Stanton "for her cause." But, when she fancies the source of her woes to be "a sleepy little printer's devil," we beg to assure her that the *World* has nothing to do with "devils" big or little, sleepy or wide-awake, but to confute, confound, exorcise, asperse, baptize, and utterly convert them into angels. "God," we are told of many lands, "sends meet, but the devil sends cooks." Mrs. Stanton seems to fancy as much of newspapers and printers. She is wrong, at least so far as the *World* is concerned. We believe her to be, not like Mr. Seward's wretched colleague, the "almost," but, like herself, the quite "divine Stanton;" and, if she will but write as divinely as she feels, we assure her she shall never be diabolically put into type by us.

Read, oh! most gracious *World*, the scathing we get in the Springfield Republican, and then you will not wonder at our healthy fear of "sleepy little printer's devils," and matter-of-fact reporters, who lop of all rhetoric provisos and qualifying clauses, and send one's bald ideas like hot shot into the camp of the republicans.

TRAIN AS A GREAT POPULAR ORATOR.

From the Round Table.

He is all our fancy painted him, but he is also something more. We had no idea, so to speak, of the size of the man. There is enough of him to make half a dozen average Western demagogues. If Juliet's school-girl conceit about her mawkish lover could be applied to Train, and he be cut out into little stars, he would make the heaven of stump oratory more bright than would the farthing candles of a myriad of Bricks and Pograms, or of any other similar instructors of mankind, real or imaginary.

Mr. Train is a born orator. He sways men. He makes them scream with laughter and thunder with applause. He is never at a loss for a word, for a metaphor, for a whimsical analogy. He watches and feels his audience with a tact that seems the tact of instinct rather than of experience, rouses them when they flag, kindles them to enthusiasm with a phrase or a gesture, never for an instant loses his command over them, talks without stopping half a minute, for two long hours, and leaves his audience unafrighted, in riotous spirits, delighted, rubbish or not, with what they have heard, to pour into the streets full of enthusiasm. Now, it is all very well to say that one who can do this is a mountebank and a charlatan. Perhaps he is. In Train's case the assertion is probably to some extent just. He says a great many ridiculous things; he also, we are sorry to add, says some very mischievous things. But he is genuine in his earnestness, in his artistic appreciation of his audience in his remarkable dramatic faculty, and in a word, in his electrical rapport with the people, which constitutes more than eightfold what we call a genius for oratory. In so far as these qualities are genuine and the use of them is earnest, their possessor cannot be fairly set down as purely a charlatan or a mountebank—only this and nothing more. On the contrary, he is this and something more. We venture to say that Mr. Train is a man of not a little real feeling, and that he is capable of much generosity. If we do not believe, as we hear many profess to do, that his sympathy with the poor and lowly is mere artful pretence. There is a kind of tenderness and a kind of passionate energy that no histrionic talent can simulate. Of this we see so much in Mr. Train as to convince us that, extravagant, incoherent, even nonsensical as he frequently is, there is also at bottom much good in him; and by this we mean good not as regards his oratorical gifts alone, but his moral qualities as well. Oddly enough, Train is physically quite unlike the typical Yankee. He more nearly resembles a man of the French Revolution. He is not lean, slab-sided, or dyspeptic; he is not long or lank-haired; he does not talk through his nose. He is compactly built, with square shoulders; is about five feet ten in height, with a large head and short masses of curling dark hair; with what most people would call a handsome face, and certainly a very expressive one, and a singularly powerful

and telling voice, which is evidently capable of great variety of modulation. He wears the evening dress which Mr. Webster is supposed to have made national—that is to say, black trousers, buff waistcoat, and blue coat with brass buttons—and appears at the outset in light gloves, which he wears of and casts aside as he proceeds. He occasionally indulges in tremendous bursts of vociferation, accompanied by furious stamps, and more rarely in passages of exaggerated suppression, mingled with fragments of verse sometimes quoted and sometimes original.

On the evening we write of, the orator was received with prodigious enthusiasm, and seemed to carry his public literally in the hollow of his hand. His denunciations of England, and his fervent demand for war with that country, were received with especial satisfaction. His more rational, if a trifle less pleasing, prognostications of the future growth and splendor of the United States were, however, hardly less approved. Mr. Train's education in political economy has been neglected; his notions respecting the currency and the tariff are such as we cannot endorse; his frenzied appeals to the passions of his most ignorant hearers are extremely reprehensible; the thread of this argument is continually snapped by issues ludicrously irrelevant; and yet, so far as we can judge by a single hearing, there is far more brain, purpose, and marrow about the man than he is usually given credit for. And so, loving independence of thought beyond most things, and seeking to do justice to all men so far as in us lies, we send forth our testimony.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.—New Hampshire is not behind her sister states in magnanimity, but the amount of school money raised by taxation last year was \$282,606, an average of \$3.69 per scholar. The monthly wages of men teachers average \$34, and those of women \$16, which would be a disgrace to any state, and is to her.

DIVORCE CASES.—London has 206 divorce cases on the docket, but congratulates itself that Chicago is worse. But a careful watch of our court reports, does not place Chicago greatly in advance of other sections of the country in this particular.

FOLLY AND CRIME.—The friends of a young Western woman buried her very foolishly with her gold watch and jewelry upon her, and some robbers opened the grave and took them and the silver ornaments of the coffin away.

WOMAN AN INVENTOR.—Mrs. Foot, wife of the Commissioner for Patents, and a daughter of Senator Henderson, is a successful inventor herself. She has contrived a skate without straps, and several other things.

OLIVE LOGAN.—Her lectures in Michigan have been everywhere crowded. At Ann Arbor she announced that she wore a panner because her dressmaker compelled her to do it. One feature was the illustration by Miss Logan upon the platform of the "Grecian Bend." While expressing contempt for this ridiculous movement, she executed it with practised skill and with unmistakable relish.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Patience cannot save them all. We do our best, and would gladly give all a hearing; but many communications must be rejected on account of their length.

DAYTON WOMAN'S ADVOCATE.—It is but a little fellow, but it is wide awake. Ohio should multiply its circulation like leaves of autumn. Only \$1.50 per annum.

POOR PROSPECT.—It is estimated that there are nearly 30,000 young men in Boston under marriage engagements, waiting for better times.

THE STATUS OF WOMAN IN EARLY RHODE ISLAND.

When Roger Williams fled from the wrath of the Massachusetts brethren, and founded the State of Rhode Island on "Soul Liberty," there were some not quite up to his measure, and would leave woman out in the cold. Joshua Verin, a rude, old fashioned man, with the code of old Jewry and "Church and State" idea still clinging to him, has been putting restraints on the conscience of his wife. Yes, she is desirous of attending Mr. Williams's meetings, and her husband has said "she shall not." The consequence is that the whole community is in a buzz, the fundamental idea has been infringed. A town meeting has been called upon the subject, and a warm debate ensues; for Verin has his friends as well as his wife. The proposition is that "Joshua Verin, for breach of covenant in restraining liberty of conscience, be withheld the liberty of voting till he declare the contrary."

Of course, the conservatives of the sayings by them of old time appealed to the Bible against "the breach of any ordinance of God" such as "the subjugation of wives to their husbands," etc. The Bible being thus clearly positive against woman, who should lay anything to the charge of God's elect, the men, for keeping woman in her God-appointed sphere? One Greene contended for her equal liberty. Arnold answered thus: "Did you pretend to leave the Massachusetts because you would not offend God to please men, and would you now break an ordinance and commandment of God to please women? Many were the texts as divers and solid reasons, and as formidable as Ossa upon Pelion, piled against the women; nor less the contest than when Michael disputed with the Devil about the body of Moses. Drs. Todd, Fulton, Holland, and like, should have been on the "Providence Plantations," to have come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. Little Rhoda, however, as against the ordinances of old time, was equal to the occasion; for "liberty won the victory; and Joshua Verin, for a breach of covenant, in restraining liberty of conscience, was properly withheld the liberty of voting, till he declared the contrary."

Not for this, Joshua would the Sun and Moon stand still that he might set up his Ebenezer as a boundary against the women, Rhode Island being first in progress.

Newport, R. I.,

C. B. F.

THE WORKING WOMAN'S ASSOCIATION held its regular meeting at room 24 Cooper Institute on Wednesday evening, Feb. 10. Mrs. Charlotte Lozier, in Miss Anthony's absence, presided. A preamble and bill for incorporation were submitted to the association and approved. Mrs. King and Mrs. Loomis were appointed to go to Albany and present it to the legislature. Some discussion arose in reference to changing the word "association" for "bureau," but it was finally decided to retain the old name.

SUMNER IMPROVING.—One good effect of the grand Woman Suffrage Convention lately held in Washington has been to stir up Congress, and the result is, that the ideas of many honorable gentlemen have been changed for the better. They now regard Woman Suffrage much more favorably. A year or so ago, Senator Sumner presented a Woman Suffrage petition, under

protest, saying it was the "negro's hour," etc.; but, the other day, he presented a "petition of citizens of Lexington, Ohio, in favor of Woman Suffrage," with a smiling face.

IMPORTANT.—The San Francisco Monitor contains the following:

Timely caution to real estate buyers is given by Carter's *Real Estate Circular*. It says that the purchasers of real estate are not generally aware that, where a man and wife are divorced, the woman is entitled to receive a full half interest in all of her late husband's real estate, provided he was not divorced from her for adultery on her part. In such a case, she receives nothing. If the husband committed adultery, all of his real estate becomes the property of his wife. Those about purchasing real estate should see that it is kept free of incumbrances arising from the above cause.

SINCE her return from America, Madame Olympe Audouard has been lecturing at the Lecture Hall, Boulevard des Capucines, Paris, on the following subjects: "The Mormons, the Pacific Railway, and the Rocky Mountains;" "The Indians;" "America, New York, and the Yankee."

CALIFORNIA CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN.—The San Francisco, California, Women's Co-operative Union, is doing admirably. Already giving employment to one hundred and sixty women, and sometimes more, while their stock on hand amounts to \$8,000. They have made \$1,000 in the first six months. The Agricultural Fair at Sacramento gave them two diplomas; one was for the largest and best display of children's and ladies' clothing; the other, the first premium for custom-made shirts and general needle-work. They also get a silver medal from the Mechanics' Institute Fair, of this year.

Mrs. Southworth's *New Novel*, "How He Won Her," a sequel to "Fair Play," is in press and will be published in a few days by T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia. It will command a very large sale, as it is said to be fully equal to "Fair Play," which is one of the best novels ever published, and which is having an unprecedented sale. It will be issued in a large duodecimo volume of six hundred pages, in a uniform style with "Fair Play," and sold at the low price of \$1.75 in cloth, or \$1.50 in paper cover.

PHONOGRAPHIC ADVOCATE.—Mr. James E. Munson is about to issue a monthly magazine devoted to the interests of that valuable and yet to be popular branch of education. Terms \$1.00 a year, or 10 cents a single number. Address "The Phonographic Advocate," (room 16,) 117 Nassau street, New York.

THE BENEDICT TIME WATCH

The enterprising firm of Benedict Brothers have now ready at their "up-town" establishment, 691 Broadway, an extensive and elegant assortment of Gold and Silver Watches for the Fall trade of 1868, to which they invite the attention of the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" and all others who desire a perfect time-keeper. Their stock comprises the various grades of the American Waltham and the choicest imported watches. They have also, in addition, a fine quality of watch which they have named the "Benedict Time Watch," they having the supervision of the manufacture of the movements, which are of nickel, which has proved to be a metal more durable than brass or other compound metals, and less liable to contraction or expansion by the fluctuating character of the temperature of this climate. This movement gives greater accuracy and requires less repairs than the others. All the various grades of American Watches are unrivalled. All the various grades may be found at their counters at the lowest prices, regulated and in every respect warranted. The Messrs Benedict Brothers have secured their reputation and extensive patronage by a strictly honorable course in conducting their business, selling the best of goods at fair prices. We feel safe in commending this establishment to the consideration of our readers, and would say to all, if you want a good, reliable Watch, go to Benedict Brothers, up town, 691 Broadway.

Financial Department.

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. III.—NO. 7.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.—*America versus Europe—Gold, like our Cotton, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor, and keep bright the chain of friendship between them and their Father Land.*

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN AND MR. RANDALL.

LET US BREAK DOWN OUR OPPONENTS WITH STATISTICS.

DEAR REVOLUTION: Let us get the facts before the people. THE REVOLUTION goes worldwide. Those who read it are thinkers. Your pulpit is a great power. Your congregation are all readers. These facts are worthy reflection.

SPECIE PAYMENTS.

NEW YORK, Feb. 4, 1869.

Geo. F. Train, Esq.—*Dear Sir:* I agree with you in most of your financial views. The idea of forcing specie payment by law is perfectly ridiculous. But one thing will do it, and that is production. Produce your cotton, which, next year, with a fair crop, will reach 4,000,000 bales, at 20 cents per bale, and 500 pounds to the bale, \$400,000,000. The corn crop to \$450,000,000. The wheat crop to \$500,000,000. Oats and barley, cheese and butter, hay and fruit, etc., to many more millions. The production of gold and silver, after the opening of the Pacific Railroad, will yield \$100,000,000 annually. This immense production—this rapid increase of wealth—is the only thing that can bring us to specie payments.

We must produce enough to make up for the destruction by the war, then specie payments will come of themselves. No law can bring it about. One fact must not be overlooked. Individual indebtedness is not one third what it was in 1860.

WE NEED WHAT WE HAVE NOT GOT—INFLATION.

We hear much of the inflation of our currency. The increase of currency does not begin with the increase of production since 1860. Read Commissioner Wells's Report for 1868. Manufactured cotton goods have increased 71 per cent. since 1860, and so have all branches of manufacture on an average. The production of Petroleum in four years is 900 per cent. increase. Cereals have increased 20 per cent. a year. Butter and cheese 8 per cent. Hogs, cattle, and sheep 10 per cent. a year.

CALIFORNIA GOLD AND NEVADA SILVER ARE THE CAUSE OF INCREASE IN VALUES—NOT GREENBACKS.

The excess of currency has not produced inflated prices to the extent that is supposed. The California gold and Nevada silver has acted a double part in inflating prices. There are two dollars of gold and silver in the country now, in proportion to paper, to one when Gen. Jackson came into power in 1828.

ALL PROPERTIES WILL CONTINUE TO RISE.

Prices of everything in this country will be high, for many years, and those who look for a large depreciation in values of landed and other real property, within the next ten years, might as well search for Aladdin's lamp—

the first will come when the last is found. The production of gold and silver will do more to inflate prices, for the next ten years, as it has in the past, than all the greenbacks that will be or have been issued by government.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD AN ALADDIN'S LAMP.

The Pacific Railroad, by facilitating and cheapening the cost of transportation of machinery into the mineral states and territories on the Pacific slopes, will double the production of gold and silver, yearly, over what it has been in the past. This will keep up prices of every thing, and it is too important to be overlooked. I enclose you statistics of production. They are worth looking at. Scan them closely, and tell the wonderfully wise that we must have more instead of less currency to do the immense increasing business of the country, and this will hasten specie payments.

Yours truly,

N. RANDALL.

MR. TRAIN'S COMMENTS.

Good for you, Mr. Randall. That Turkish Bath has set you thinking. Moses Taylor, Dr. Durant, Clem. Barclay, Wm. H. Macy, Henry Clews, and the other magnates I have purified at Dr. Angell's miracle manufactory, corner of Lexington avenue and 25th street—will also throw up their free trade specie-paying notions, when I purify the whole nation of its English corruption. You are right on there being no inflation, no currency. You are right about increase of values, occasioned by gold and silver production. But wrong in dreaming ever again of specie payments. You must read THE REVOLUTION. We intend to have no more specie payment in America. Our eyes are open. England has lost her grip. We want, at once, two thousand millions of greenbacks. How shall we pay them? Look at these

RESOURCES OF AMERICA.

Number of immigrants from July, 1865, to December 1, 1868—1,000,000. Average amount of gold and silver brought by each one, \$80. The value of labor of each one, for 3 1/4 years—\$1,000. Total labor—\$500,000,000. Money brought—\$80,000,000. Total—\$580,000,000.

Number of cotton spindles in 1860—5,235,727. Number in 1868—7,000,000. Increase 31 per cent. Number of woollen factories, 1860—259; 1861—557, or 90 per cent. increase.

Pig iron made, 1863—947,634 tons; 1868, 1,500,000; increase, 84 per cent. a year.

Copper produced in 1860—600,000 tons; in 1867—1,000,735, or nearly double.

Petroleum, 1862, exported—10,887,701 gallons; in 1868 to Dec. 18—24,774,291 gallons, or nearly 900 per cent. in 6 years.

Increase of tonnage on western Lakes last year, about 11 per cent.

Coal, 1862—7,499,250 tons of anthracite; 1868, to Dec. 18—13,500,000 tons, or nearly double.

Number of sheep in Ohio, 1865—6,305,796; 1868—7,580,000, or an increase of 30 per cent.

Corn, wheat, oats, and barley, in Ohio, 1865—107,414, 278 bushels; 1868—141,000,000; increase 33 per cent.

Hogs packed in 1865 and 1868—1,705,965; 1867 and 1868—2,781,034, in the west.

Corn in U.S., 1858—830,451,705, which, at 40 cents per bushel, would amount to \$332,181,652.

Cotton raised in 1868, estimated at 2,600,000 bales of 500 lbs. each, at 24 cents per lb.—\$312,000,000.

Tobacco, 1860—201,350,663 lbs.; 1867—280,000,000.

Railroads—gross tonnage in 1867 on 39,324 miles of road—48,488,000 tons of merchandise, after deducting coal, etc. Total tonnage on railroads in 1856—6,000,000 of tons. Increase—800 per cent.

The Railroads earned, in gross, in 1867, 21 per cent. on their reported cost. Average rate of tonnage per mile, in Massachusetts, annually—3,812 tons; New York—310 per mile; Pennsylvania—4,000 tons per mile. Increase of tonnage on the railroads from 1858 to 1868 has been ten times greater than the ratio of increase of population for the same period.

Rejoice and be glad, ye toil-worn workers. Your day is near. The good of the world are coming to America. Our happiest years are to be. We must be good to be great. Shut the door against England. Let us have war. If Grant will shut Stanton and Seward out of the Cabinet, and let my Fenians free Ireland, I will

stand by him. The man that has me on his side—or the woman either—is safe; but woe be to those I oppose. Truth will conquer falsehood.

GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN.

AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP.

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN presents his compliments to Charles Moran, George Opdyke, A. A. Low, the New York Chamber of Commerce and the Subsidized English Press, and asks them to answer these conundrums propounded by the greatest of American statesmen, Henry C. Carey. These propositions are true or false—fact or fallacy. They are the boiled down ideas of THE REVOLUTION. They contain the philosophy of statesmanship. Carey is seventy-six years old, and this extract from his late eleven letters to Gen. Grant (published by Collins, Phila.) show there is life in the old man yet.

Why is it that, if protection be really adverse to freedom and to the general prosperity of our people, immigration always grows with such rapidity when protection is most complete?

Why is it that if the British free trade is really favorable to freedom, men who had previously come among us with intent to stay, have always then so largely re-emigrated to Europe?

Why has it been this in the last few years hundreds of thousands of Canadians have abandoned their free trade country, and have preferred to settle in these benighted and protected states?

Why is it that of the emigrants who arrive at Quebec and Montreal, and who have their choice between free trade on the one hand and protection on the other, nearly all prefer to take the latter, selecting homes in our Western states?

Why is it that if Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are almost in a state of rebellion, because of their feeling of the absolute necessity for a closer connection with these protected states?

Why is it that nearly the whole population of Ireland would desire to fly from British freedom of trade and seek for homes in this now partially protected country?

Why is it that British emigration to Australia diminishes, and that to us increases, almost precisely as our protective policy is made more and more complete?

Why is it that Australia, after a most severe political contest, has just now elected a protectionist parliament?

Why is it that when we build furnaces and open mines, railroads are always profitable to their owners, and capital is easily obtained for the construction of new lines of road?

Why is it that when mines and furnaces are abandoned, railroad property so far declines that it becomes impossible to obtain the means for building further roads?

Why is it that financial crises, resulting in the ruin of trade, are the never failing accompaniments of the British free trade policy?

Why is it that such crises never occur in the periods of protection?

Why is it that the deposits in our saving funds increase in times of protection, and diminish in those of British free trade?

Why is it that sheriff's sales are so numerous in British free trade times, and so few in number in those of protection?

Why is it the revenue tariff periods almost always end in almost total failure of public revenues and almost total bankruptcy of the treasury?

Why is it that protective tariffs are so favorable to increase of public revenue, and to reduction of the public debt?

Why is it that a protective tariff now produces annually nearly as much revenue as was obtained by aid of a merely revenue one in the whole period of Mr. Buchanan's administration?

Why is it that the republican party—the party of liberty, of equal rights, of intelligence, and of sound morals—is so generally favorable to the protective policy?

Why is it that British free trade doctrines are so universally popular among men who believe in the divine origin of slavery—among sympathizers in the late rebellion—among foreign agents—among ignorant foreigners—and among the dangerous classes throughout the Union?

Why is it that, now that the South diversifies its industry by raising its own food, it obtains as much for

2,000,000 bales of cotton as before it had received for \$6,000,000?

Why is it that when the refining of our oil, and fitting it for consumption, gives us now almost our only real free trade, the same results would not be obtained, and, on a much larger scale, by finishing our cotton and fitting it for consumption?

Why is it that Belgium, the most prosperous little country in Europe, so earnestly desires to protect?

Why is it that Russia, after a ten years' trial of British free trade, exhibits herself as a constant borrower throughout western Europe?

Why is it that Sweden is now in a state of so great suffering, after nearly a decade of British free trade?

Why is it that France, in making her last treaty with England, established a tariff more intelligently protective than our own?

Why is it that the maker of that treaty, M^{ons}. Chevalier, had been led to tell his countrymen that—

"Every nation owes it to itself to seek the establishment of diversification in the pursuits of its people, as Germany and England have already done in regard to cottons and woollens, and as France herself has done in reference to so many and so widely different kinds of manufacturing industry. Within these limits," as he further says, "it is not an abuse of power on the part of the government; on the contrary, it is the accomplishment of a positive duty so to act a leech epoch in the progress of a nation, as to favor the taking possession of all the branches of industry whose acquisition is authorized by the nature of things. Governments are, in effect, the personification of nations, and it is required that they should exercise their influence in the direction indicated by the general interest, properly studied, and fully appreciated."

Why is it that Germany, the country that has most persistently carried into effect the policy thus recommended, now stands in the lead of Europe, although so recently a mere collection of loose fragments, ready to be moved about in whatever direction might be most agreeable to France or England at one moment, Russia or Austria at another?

Why is it that British policy, that policy whose imitation is urged upon us by all the advocates of that revenue tariff system which has so invariably resulted in destruction of the revenue, has so entirely crushed out of existence the whole race of those small British proprietors, "whose touch," according to Arthur Young, "turned sand into gold?"

Why is it that the British agricultural laborer has, by means of that policy, been reduced to a condition so nearly a kin to slavery as to have before him no future but the poor house?

Why is it that all the countries of the earth which find themselves compelled to submit to the, so called, free trade policy now urged upon the world by British Free Traders are this day a little better than in a state of ruin?

WHAT HAVE I DONE TO BE PRAISED?

What crime have I committed? The Sun shines on me. THE REVOLUTION turns for my benefit. The Round Table makes me a Knight. The Herald says I am a Lion in Lion's clothes! This is all wrong. I can stand anything but praise. I have done some wrong. I must go back to jail. Perhaps these kind critics have discovered that the Pacific Railway, the Credit Mobilier and the Credit Foncier were created and organized over my table. Do we not pay you two hundred thousand a year for advertising?

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

REPLY TO MR. HUME.

R. W. H., in your paper of 28th January, admits two propositions stated by Kellogg and denies two—to wit, that Congress has power to coin money and regulate the value—but denies the power of Congress to make money of any other material than gold or silver—admits "the power is vested solely in Congress by the constitution to make money and emit bills of credit." "It by no means follows," says R. W. H., "that powers forbidden to the states are reserved by the United States." R. W. H. forgets that the power to make money may be a sovereign power; hence all acts of sovereignty

are forbidden to the states, such as declaring war, granting letters of marque and reprisal, making treaties, coining money, regulating the value and fixing the standard of weights, etc. These sovereign powers may be exercised as the sovereign pleases. The sovereign has only power, he has no rights, he cannot be sued, or litigate any right he might think proper to set up in a court of justice. The Sovereign must necessarily be clothed with such power as will enable him to perform his duties as sovereign, namely—to protect the lives and property of his subjects, to protect life against violence, and protect property from being wrongfully taken from the rightful owner, and this is all that is demanded of the sovereign. And in order to protect life or property, the sovereign has power to command the lives and property of the people who have chosen him as governor, king or emperor, and this power is as arbitrary and despotic for the above purpose in the republic as in a despotic government. So that, I take it, all power necessary to be exercised, and forbidden to the states—must be somewhere else, and if not in the general government or Congress, where else are we to look for it? The states being expressly prohibited by the constitution from coining money, where are they to get money, except through Congressional legislation? And when Congress declares that five-cent pieces shall be made of nickel-copper, that does not contain a portion of gold or silver, and "that such coin shall be a legal tender to the extent of one dollar," as is stated by the act of Congress approved 16th May, 1866? If Congress has power to make money of nickel or copper that shall be a legal tender, have the state courts power to declare the law unconstitutional? If a question should be made on the subject, which would prove to be the stronger—the state courts, or the laws of Congress. Suppose there are, as is often the case, 500 tax-bills to be collected, none of which exceeds 95 cents or one dollar, will not a tender in nickel or copper discharge the persons from liability, and can any state court prevent it? And if Congress has power to make copper and nickel money a legal tender for one dollar, and has power to enforce the law of Congress to make it a legal tender, can there be any limit to the power—may not one dollar or ten dollars be made by the same power and of the same material that the five-cent pieces are made?

R. H. W. says Mr. Maguire's difficulty is to prove that greenbacks are money.

Mr. Maguire never contended that the greenback, promises to pay, are money. The greenback states the United States will pay, at some designated place, the treasury in New York or Washington, ten or one hundred dollars. The words promise to pay are calculated to deceive—to create a doubt that should not exist in regard to what is money. If the Congress had enacted that the Secretary of the Treasury should have prepared paper, having printed or stamped upon it certain mottoes or devices (as in the bill ordering the five-cent pieces to be made), and declared it shall be lawful money, and a legal tender in the payment of debts—where is the authority in courts, State or Federal, to declare the law unconstitutional? The question cannot be fully discussed in the limited space allowed in a newspaper; but the Congressional bill embraces all that is necessary for Congress to do in order to liquidate the public debt without taxing the people, and besides give the people all they need of legal tender money, that can never fail to be good.

J. M.

THE MONEY MARKET

was easy on Saturday, call loans ranging from 6 to 7 per cent, and discounts at 7 to 8 per cent. The weekly bank statement shows a decrease in loans of \$2,161,325; in specie, \$2,085,973; in deposits, \$3,625,039; and in legal tenders, \$1,089,181. The circulation is increased \$17,015.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks this week compared with the preceding week:

	Feb. 6.	Feb. 13.	Differences.
Loans,	\$268,541,732	\$264,380,407	Dec. \$2,161,325
Specie,	27,930,040	26,854,531	Dec. 2,085,973
Circulation,	34,246,436	34,263,451	Inc. 17,015
Deposits,	186,602,899	192,977,869	Dec. 3,625,039
Legal-tenders,	53,424,133	52,334,952	Dec. 1,089,181

THE GOLD MARKET

was firm and steady.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Openin ^g .	Highest.	Lowest.	Closin ^g .
Monday, Feb. 8,	135 $\frac{1}{4}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	135 $\frac{1}{4}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tuesday, 9,	135 $\frac{1}{4}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	134 $\frac{3}{4}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wednesday, 10,	135	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	134 $\frac{3}{4}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thursday, 11,	135 $\frac{1}{4}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	135	135 $\frac{1}{2}$
Friday, 12,	135 $\frac{1}{4}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	135	135 $\frac{1}{2}$
Saturday, 13,	135	135 $\frac{1}{4}$	134 $\frac{3}{4}$	135

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

closed unsettled on Saturday, prime bankers 60 days sterling bills being quoted 100 to 100 $\frac{1}{2}$, and sight 100 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 109 $\frac{1}{2}$. Francs on Paris bankers long 5.17 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5.16 $\frac{1}{2}$, and short 5.13 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5.12 $\frac{1}{2}$.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was strong and buoyant in the early part of the week, and closed steady.

The following are the closing quotations:

Cumberland, 36 to 37 $\frac{1}{2}$; W. F. & Co. Ex. 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 29; American Express, 47 to 48 $\frac{1}{2}$; Adams Express, 66 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 67; Mechanics Union Express, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 19 $\frac{1}{2}$; Quicksilver, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 23; Canon, 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 63; Pacific Mail, 114 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 114 $\frac{1}{2}$; W. U. Telegraph, 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 37 $\frac{1}{2}$; M. X. Central, 163 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 163 $\frac{1}{2}$; Erie, 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 36 $\frac{1}{2}$; Hudson River, 136 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 136 $\frac{1}{2}$; Reading, 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 94 $\frac{1}{2}$; Tol. & Wash. 66 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 64 $\frac{1}{2}$; Tol. & Wash. preferred, 77 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 78; Mil. & St. Paul, 66 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 66 $\frac{1}{2}$; Mil. & St. P. preferred, 79 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 80; Pitts. & Fort Wayne, 118 to 118 $\frac{1}{2}$; Ohio & Miss., 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 35 $\frac{1}{2}$; Michigan Central, 119 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 119 $\frac{1}{2}$; Mich. Southern, 94 to 94 $\frac{1}{2}$; Illinois Central, 141 to 143; Cleve. & Pk., 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 91 $\frac{1}{2}$; Cleve. & Toledo, 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 106; Rock Island, 131 to 131 $\frac{1}{2}$; Chicago & N. Western, 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 83 $\frac{1}{2}$; N. Western preferred, 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 92; Marietta, 82 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 82 $\frac{1}{2}$; Marietta preferred, 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 28 $\frac{1}{2}$.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were active and excited during the week, and strong at the close on Saturday.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States sixes, Pacific Railroad, 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 101 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States sixes, 1881, registered, 112 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 112 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States sixes, coupon, 114 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 114 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twenties, registered, 111 to 111 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1882, 114 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 113 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1884, 111 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 111 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1885, 118 to 113 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twenties, coupon, new, 1885, 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five twenties, coupon, 1887, 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1888, 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-twenties, registered, 109 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 109 $\frac{1}{2}$; United States five-tenths, coupon, 109 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 109 $\frac{1}{2}$.

THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were \$5,400,399 in gold against \$2,204,389 for \$2,383,000 and \$2,614,684 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$3,944,747 in gold against \$4,625,828, \$5,230,347, and \$6,070,386 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were \$2,660,313 in currency against \$3,705,274, \$3,008,903, and \$2,688,096 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$927,839 against \$996,954 \$962,907 and \$1,100,144 for the preceding weeks.

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(See advertisement Oct. 8.) 16 17

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Special attention to female diseases.

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